Paris: The Socialists Balk – *Claude Bourdet*

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That Labor "Octopus"

BY SID LENS

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Betrayal as Usual

A Report on Greece

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

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The End of Jim Curley? - - - - - - - - *John P. Mallan*

Bonn: The Face Is Familiar - - - - - - - - - - *Carolus*

What the Russians Should Do Next - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

SENTENCING OF THE COMMUNIST LEADERS seemed curiously irrelevant alongside the historic fact of their conviction. In giving ten of the eleven defendants five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine (Thompson's war record saved him two years) Judge Harold R. Medina went as far as he could go. He indicated that he would have meted out even heavier sentences if Congress last year had not halved the penalty for conspiracy, a fact which strangely came to light only in the week after the convictions. Coupled with denial of bail pending appeal, the severity of the sentences draws the line clearly. It has, in fact, an undeniable logic. Either the Communists represent a "clear and present danger," as Judge Medina believes, in which case the maximum sentence is justified; or they represent no such danger, in which case the application of the Smith act was not warranted in the first place and the men are entitled to their freedom. Judge Medina has chosen to assert the existence of the danger as a matter of law. Higher courts may well decide that this was not a matter of law but of fact, and as such to be determined by the jury. Or they may find, as a question of law, that the danger does not exist in a degree necessary to sustain the prosecution. Should they, on the other hand, uphold this application of the Smith act, as well as the law itself, then the actual sentences meted out to the eleven Communists will be of small importance in the light of larger implications. For we shall then have moved into an era of fear in which prosecutors will try to root out dangers which the greatest of our jurists would never have deemed either clear or present. We can only hope that the judges of the higher courts are not easily frightened. The First Amendment hangs in the balance.

✶

RUMORS PERSIST THAT A BREAK IN THE steel strike is imminent. Much as we want to believe that this is the case, we find little basis for optimism either in the stubborn positions held by both sides or in their respective capacities to wage a long war of attrition. Philip Murray is known to be rigidly determined to get his men a system of non-contributory pensions. Having decided against pressing for a fourth round of wage increases, he can hardly confront his union with the prospect of a smaller pay envelope, even if the shrinkage is a form of savings. The big steel companies are equally adamant against establishing a precedent which would subject them to increasing security demands in the future. Unlike the coal miners, whose frequent stoppages have exhausted their credit and brought them to the verge of starvation, the steel workers are in a relatively solvent state. Except for a three-month stoppage in 1946 they have been working steadily for years, at top rates and with a considerable accumulation of overtime pay. To a far greater degree the steel companies, with their swollen war profits intact, can live off their fat. The country itself can no doubt absorb the effects of the strike for a few weeks more without much harm, but should it continue beyond the middle of November we will be faced with something very like a national emergency. In such a climate the chances for an equitable solution will obviously be less favorable than they are now. This present period is the time for Fairless and his colleagues on the one side and Murray on the other to come forward with alternative plans. Certain compromises have been suggested which both parties have an obligation to consider. Should they fail to do so, and quickly, the government should take over. This would at least create an atmosphere in which labor's legitimate claim to social security would be fairly considered, free from the coercive pressures of a bitter strike.

✶

ONLY A REMARKABLY INEPT CONGRESS LIKE the Eightieth, or an unusually fruitful one, like the Seventy-third, can expect to figure as an entity in a political campaign. The Eighty-first, judging from its first session, is neither of these. In several analyses of its work appearing in these pages we have shown that in its first session, more than nine months long and stretching through one of Washington's most uncomfortable summers, the Eighty-first served the country well in some fields, poorly in others. On the whole, its sins were not positive, like the Taft-Hartley act of its predecessor, but rather sins of omission. It delivered none of the promised civil-liberties legislation, no public-health law, no modification of Taft-Hartley, and no federal aid to education. In its favor, on the other hand, are an increased minimum wage, a public-housing law, extension of rent control, increased storage facilities for crops, a

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
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Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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start toward reorganization of the executive branch of the government, and a foreign policy that is at least coherent. Its investigating committees were considerably more responsible than those of the Eightieth Congress. The Un-American Activities Committee was hardly heard from, and while Senator Hickenlooper tried to prove David Lilienthal guilty of "incredible mismanagement" on the basis of no visible evidence, it was the Senator himself that the committee majority found incredible. A disgraceful filibuster by Senators Langer and Cain, acting for McCarran in the closing hours of the session, robbed the country of a chance to make up to the displaced persons of Europe for the grudging hand extended to them under the present shabby law. If civil liberties, permanent farm legislation, and Taft-Hartley haunt the Republicans in next year's Congressional campaign, they will have only themselves and their Dixiecrat allies to thank.

*

THE COMPROMISE FARM BILL WHICH WAS passed after months of Congressional wrangling has been hailed by Senator Scott Lucas, majority leader, as "permanent" legislation. We doubt that it will prove anything of the sort. Essentially the compromise is one that assures producers of the six basic crops—wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanuts—of price support for 1950 at the present 90 per cent parity level. After that a flexible scale is to be introduced with supports ranging from 80 to 90 per cent in 1951 and from 75 to 90 per cent in later years. But nothing would be less surprising than another move by the farm bloc to maintain the present rigid price floor. After all, the Hope-Aiken bill, now discarded, was also supposed to provide flexibility on a permanent basis. A new twist in the compromise bill is the introduction of a "modernized" parity formula based on the relation between prices paid by the farmers and prices received during the ten years preceding each harvest. Until 1954, however, the Secretary of Agriculture must use the old formula in setting support prices for basic crops in those cases where it gives producers a better deal. We cannot believe that manipulation of this kind will enhance the already tarnished reputation of the parity theory. But in general this compromise bill seems thoroughly unsatisfactory. It is the fruit of trading between pressure groups rather than of a real effort to find means of combining security for the farmer with protection for the consumer. The whole farm problem needs to be reexamined in the light of technological developments in both industry and agriculture, changes in dietary habits, shifts in foreign markets, our relief obligations, and so forth. As Congress has fallen down on the job, perhaps one of the economic-research foundations will undertake a thorough investigation and formulate a genuine long-term program.

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POOR DR. EDWIN NOURSE! HIS DECISION TO resign as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers is said to have been prompted by a feeling that he was being forced into the political cockpit, and now he finds himself appropriated by the Republican Party as the newest champion of the anti-Fair Deal cause. Actually, the speech he delivered on October 18 to the National Retail Farm Equipment Association, the day before his long-proffered resignation was accepted, was by no means a partisan harangue. It was rather an expression of concern about the economic future which touched on the shortcomings of business management as well as those of labor and the farmers. Further, it deplored the fact that at a time when production and employment were high, the government was "slipping back into deficits as a way of life." That is a situation for which Congress as well as the Administration, Republicans as well as Democrats, must accept responsibility. Certainly Republicans, who have just voted overwhelmingly for an extravagant farm bill and have helped to force on the Administration a larger air force than it wanted, show considerable gall when they bait the President as a spendthrift. *The Nation,* as its readers know, does not believe there is anything sacrosanct about a balanced budget: there are times when it is the positive duty of a government to offset deflationary forces by deliberate deficit financing. But the present position hardly warrants such action, and, in fact, the unbalancing of the budget is due to drift rather than design. It probably would have been avoided if the Eightieth Congress, under Republican leadership, had not prematurely reduced taxes. And the deficit would certainly be more manageable if both Administration and Congress had been firmer with the armed services. To this extent we agree with Dr. Nourse, while regretting that the manner and timing of his remarks have made him the unwitting ally of political reaction.

*

THE NAVAJO-HOPI INDIANS AND THEIR friends, including ourselves, who had urged President Truman to veto the deceptive and destructive Navajo-Hopi "rehabilitation" bill were more than gratified last week when he refused to sign the measure. As a result, while no positive steps have been taken to give the Indians the kind of assistance they require if they are to survive and prosper, at least the little they have left can't be taken away from them in the immediate future —not until Congress reconvenes, at any rate. The last-minute skirmishings in the session just concluded give a hint of what we may expect in January: another attempt to put through the "rehabilitation" bill minus one bad clause—which would have transferred the Indians from federal to state jurisdiction—but with a discriminatory social-security provision remaining. In addition, as John Collier pointed out in these pages on September 17, four other proposals designed to deprive the tribes of their property rights have already been drawn up by a few conscienceless Senators and Representatives. It is quite likely that an attempt will be made to rush this legislation through soon after Congress reopens, so as to forestall any public opposition. We warn our readers to watch for this development, and to raise a storm if they see it approaching.

*

SPEAKING AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF the American Management Association, John E. O'Gara, vice-president and general manager of Macy's, recently declared that the employment of Negroes in jobs utilizing their highest skills would add $6,000,000,000 to the buying power of the nation's consumers. Employment discrimination, he said, denies to American business a "no-cost big market right here at home. . . . The damage comes directly home to roost in the markets of commerce and industry." In addition, he stated, it creates "a soft spot for subversive penetration" and forces the Negro to become an economic burden on the community. Although more fundamental arguments than those of economic self-interest and the prevention of "subversive penetration" could have been marshaled by Mr. O'Gara, it is good to hear an important business executive denounce discriminatory employment practices.

. . . *As Others See Us*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TALK to a State Department functionary and the chances are you will find him quite complacent about American foreign policy. Its apparent inconsistencies he will explain as necessary adaptations to changing conditions. He will regard as bolshevik nonsense the idea that our weight is on the side of social and political reaction and will draw items out of that same record of inconsistency to fortify his position. He will excuse our undeniable support of nationalists and former Nazis in Germany as the inevitable by-product of a gigantic effort to get things going again. So long as foreign relations and heavy industry are subject to inter-Allied supervision, what harm to have Hitler's relicts in charge of factories and some government agencies? After all, those are the boys who have the "know-how" —and production is what we need.

And so the story goes: a story told by a nation so rich, so powerful, so much sought after that it can easily afford a few inconsistencies and mistakes; can pass them off as of little account when it is occasionally forced to admit them.

Viewed from Washington this is the way American policy looks, at least to the people who help make it.

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Viewed from either Europe or the United Nations it looks so different that one wishes every bureau head, every agency official, every "desk" chief, could be forced to peel off his title and his departmental *amour propre* and go out into the world incognito, like some grand vizier of the Arabian Nights, to find out how others see him and his mighty apparatus and the fateful decisions they grind out. But since this is a fantasy as remote as an Arabian Night's tale itself, it is more sensible to hope that our policy-makers will at least read C. L. Sulzberger's current series on American foreign policy in the New York *Times*. Here they will get the views of friendly, anti-Communist, informed Europeans, many of them officials themselves, transmitted by an expert reporter of foreign affairs who cannot himself be accused of "left deviations."

Mr. Sulzberger's articles reveal the profound anxiety aroused in Europe by those inconsistencies and ambiguities our officials so easily shrug off. It would take too long to summarize his findings here. But it would not be going far afield to say that they add up to one inclusive generalization—not, however, expressed: American foreign policy is made up of a collection of short-range, changing, often contradictory and even self-defeating moves tied together by a single overriding consideration—to lick Russia in the political war now in progress or, if that effort should not succeed, to lick Russia in the atomic war scheduled to follow. To this all other motives defer; beside it such virtues as consistency, democracy, clarity, stability, even common sense are relatively unimportant.

Viewed from the vantage point of the U. N., the picture is much the same. Mr. del Vayo has described the reaction to State Department strategy there in a report this week and in two previous ones. Nothing could be more disconcerting to an American than the conversation in the delegates' lounge after a session such as the one at which Yugoslavia was voted into the Security Council. Since the vote went against Russia, the natural assumption of an outsider would be that the majority genuinely favored Yugoslavia's admission. To a person familiar with U. N. practice, that vote represented a complicated mixture of partisanship, big-power pressure, and conviction—with the last last.

Under all existing circumstances the choice of Yugoslavia over Czechoslovakia was simply an anti-Soviet demonstration. It was engineered directly by the United States. Listening to the comments in the lounge gave me the sense of rereading the Sulzberger series in a different context. I talked to delegates of several countries and to three or four members of the U. N. permanent staff. Even those most sympathetic to Yugoslavia's stand for independence believed that the main result of its election would be to injure whatever slight chance remained of reaching an agreement on atomic control or any other serious issue. It was not that these persons minimized the difficulty of finding common ground, or even a common language, with the Russians; Vishinsky's sharp and hostile manner, from the start of the session, has hardly permitted any illusions on that score. It was rather the feeling that the United States, having already indicated a determination not to compromise, had gone beyond this to challenge Russia on its own ground, choosing the single most-inflamed issue as the test. A well-informed member of the secretariat told me he had reluctantly concluded that the United States had no wish at present to reach an accord with Russia and that the Yugoslav incident was simply an open announcement to that effect.

Democratic Europeans and Asiatics do not expect much from Russia, but they look to America for leadership as well as aid. When this country presents the spectacle of a confused foreign policy, largely anti-democratic in its effect, coupled with an attitude of calculated hostility to Russia in the U. N., they react with growing concern. The question is, how much does Washington know about this feeling or, knowing, how much does it care?

The Socialists Balk

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris, October 24 (by radio)

THE present government crisis is perhaps a landmark in French post-war history. Since the liberation, the political and economic power of the left parties and working-class forces has steadily declined and that of groups representing the former ruling class has increased. At the time of the liberation a united front of the workers and a large part of the middle class under the leadership of De Gaulle created the social basis for progressive democracy. Former leaders of finance and industry were lying low, especially since many of them had been implicated in collaboration with the Germans. But the left-wing majority soon cracked for a number of reasons. One was the link of the Communists with Russia and the brutal tactics used by that party against its rivals. Then the natural leader of this majority, General de Gaulle—by nature a traditionalist—refused to play the part of a revolutionary leader. Instead, De Gaulle appeared as the protector of the old social status, breaking the spirit of the Resistance and throwing the masses back into the arms of the Communist Party. A third reason was that the Christian Democratic M. R. P. was hampered by church and reactionary followers. Finally, the Socialist Party, which had already lost close contact with the working class, had not enough enterprise to reassume the leadership.

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The division between Communists and non-Communists within the majority threw the Communists out of the government but did not loosen their hold on the working class. Socialists and Christian Democrats, forced to count on the support of reactionary elements for a parliamentary majority, had to tolerate a half-and-half policy which enabled the conservatives month after month to sabotage all progressive policies and make price control ineffective, while violently countering all demands by the workers for a badly needed increase in wages. Meanwhile the reactionary former leaders were reinstated in industry, finance, politics, administration, and the press.

The policy of the Cominform in France and Europe accentuated the opposition to Russia in the progressive forces and kept the working class from going entirely Communist. But the Socialists' enforced alliance with right-wing parties made it impossible to launch an effective non-Communist working-class movement. As the right wing grew steadily stronger, its objective became the elimination of all Socialist or progressive influence. The Socialists were permitted to keep some power because their help was needed against the semi-fascist, Gaullist R. P. F., which the traditional right disliked for fear it would impose a Schacht kind of planned economy if it were victorious. Moreover, the presence of the Socialists in the Cabinet served to camouflage the government's policy toward the working class. But both the R. P. F. and the Communists have been gradually declining, and in consequence the Socialists have become less and less useful, so that with each new Cabinet crisis the successor government has moved to the right. The attempt by Jules Moch to form a government was sheer folly on the part of the Socialists. If it had succeeded, they would have been obliged to take full responsibility for reactionary policies, which would have meant the severe cutting back if not the destruction of social security, a retreat on the nationalization of industry, and the virtual abandonment of any hope of raising the workers' standard of living, which once again is incredibly low. Many Socialists realize this and are happy over Moch's failure.

René Mayer was the natural leader of a right-wing policy. He belongs to the Radical Socialist Party and has Gaullist leanings. More important was the fact that he had the confidence of big business, banks, and private industry. Many believed that he could also count on support by powerful American groups. It is amusing to note that for a time both he and Robert Schuman are said to have based their claim to the premiership on their support in the United States. A witty banker who knows René Mayer's simple Americanism and naive nineteenth-century faith in free enterprise said to me when he heard of his attempt to form a government, "*C'est le Reader's Digest au pouvoir.*"

Mayer's efforts were unsuccessful because he insisted on Socialist participation. The Socialists were willing to support him in order to prevent a new crisis but were not anxious to join his Cabinet, where they would have had to take responsibility for policies to which the workers were opposed. They knew they could more effectively balk reactionary measures by threatening to withdraw support at any moment, and it was to counter the permanent threat of withdrawal that Mayer insisted on their participation. The Socialists finally agreed to enter the Mayer Cabinet on condition that Daniel Mayer, Labor Minister under Queuille, be given the same post in the new Cabinet. Since Daniel Mayer's energetic support of the workers' demands for slightly more decent wages was the formal cause of the collapse of the Queuille government, the right—particularly the so-called Radical Socialist Party, to which both Queuille and René Mayer belong—drew the line on including him. The Socialists stood firm. René Mayer gave up.

GEORGES BIDAULT, former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, is now trying to form a Cabinet. He represents the center group of the M. R. P. He is well thought of among former members of the Resistance because of his record as president of the National Council of Resistance, but that sort of thing makes no appeal to the industrial and financial groups, now restored to their former influence. Moreover, memories of Bidault's governmental record are linked either with the time when he was obliged to carry out De Gaulle's unsound foreign policy or to the later, extremely tense period of collaboration with the Communists in a three-party government. His position in his own party is not exceptionally good. He is too liberal for the right wing's taste, yet too far from the working class to arouse the enthusiasm of the Christian Democratic unions.

Thus Bidault does not seem to be the man who can resolve the present difficult situation. Nevertheless, he has a slight chance of success because the people are getting tired of the continued crisis. Whoever becomes Prime Minister will have as his principal problem the deepening chasm between the right, which is growing more greedy, and the Socialists, who have suddenly decided to refuse to serve much longer as an alibi for reactionary government. Therefore, any government that may be formed is probably only temporary.

If the Socialists persist in their determination to remain outside the government there will be some hope of their rejuvenation. Sooner or later the right wing will cease to need any Socialist support. This development may be brought about, if necessary, through the dissolution of Parliament and new elections using a new ballot system, or through replacing proportional representation with the pre-war single-member constituency.

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Then the Communist delegation would become much smaller than the party's proportional strength in the country, and an overwhelming bourgeois majority would be established. The course French politics have taken is the inevitable consequence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party and the weakness of character of the French Socialists, who have barred the way to both a national communism and a powerful socialism, and even to a combination of the two, thereby ripping the working class in two in the face of powerful enemies.

What the Russians Should Do Next

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Flushing Meadow, October 20

RUSSIA'S opponents in the United Nations Assembly had their day this morning when Yugoslavia was elected to the Security Council over Czechoslovakia. My comment is very simple and entirely uninfluenced by the differences between Moscow and Belgrade: it is that what was done this morning was irresponsible, an intended slap in the face for Stalin. It added nothing to the prestige of the United States as a great power, and it injured the United Nations, which seeks to keep up at least the appearance of being an agency of conciliation. As long as the United States is a high-ranking member of the United Nations, its first duty is to try to smooth out difficulties, not to add new ones. It should not make a Madison Square Garden of the Assembly and stage a boxing match just for the pleasure of knocking out another member with whom it must continue to work if the United Nations is to go on. That sort of game is beneath the dignity of a great power with a long tradition of diplomacy. Great Britain is certainly as antagonistic to Russia as is the United States, but for three hundred years it has had a Foreign Office that can keep its temper; it refused to follow the lead of the United States and voted for Czechoslovakia.

Some days ago Vishinsky, defending Czechoslovakia's claim to the post, made a point which so far as I know was not reported in the American press. The Soviet Union, he said, had voted for Argentina for the Security Council because Argentina was the choice of the Latin American bloc, though the Soviet Union did not consider the choice a happy one. The same reasoning required Argentina and other states to vote for Czechoslovakia, the candidate of the Soviet bloc.

I have often criticized the Russians, from Vishinsky down, for adopting a tone in the Assembly and the committees which destroyed the atmosphere of goodwill so necessary for the successful functioning of the United Nations. But all their offensive and insolent remarks put together have been less pernicious, in content and effect, than this maneuver on the part of the United States to defeat Russia, its lobbying for the votes of the Latin American and other nations, some of which gave them only because they were resentfully aware of their dependence on the United States. If the idea was to help Yugoslavia it was a mistaken one. The new member of the Security Council will find itself from the start in a most uncomfortable position, and the Council, whose work is difficult enough already, will be constantly harassed by the Soviet-Yugoslav duel.

Another event at the U. N. this week was less sensational than the election of Yugoslavia but similarly significant. One of the most absurd performances I have ever witnessed took place last Tuesday in the Security Council. The subject under discussion was disarmament. It was clear that the French delegate's proposal of a world-wide census of armed forces and conventional weapons, verified by international machinery, could not pass. Mr. Malik, Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister, had spent more than an hour arguing that the separation of atomic and non-atomic weapons was "artificial" and part of the "false, illusory hope" that the United States could maintain an atomic monopoly. There was absolutely no sense in bringing the matter to a vote. Mr. Malik suggested, therefore, that the council send all the relevant documents to the General Assembly, two of whose major committees have disarmament on their agenda. It was useless. The president of the Council, Mr. Austin, was resolved to force the Soviet Union to use not one but two more vetoes. Malik and Manuilski, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister, protested, the former arguing coldly as usual, the latter drawing on his great capacity for irony and indignation to denounce the proposal as calculated to make the whole situation deteriorate and prevent any reconciliation between opposed points of view. The president was adamant and boldly put the matter to a vote. The first Soviet veto of the afternoon was registered. But that was not enough for Mr. Austin. Another French proposal, practically identical with the first, must now be voted on. Malik again objected, pointing out its similarity to the one that had just been rejected and asking if what was wanted was another Soviet veto so that his country could be blamed for the failure to agree. Again the vote was taken, and a second Soviet veto was registered. Immediately afterward, on the request of the French delegate himself, the Council adopted the original Soviet suggestion that all

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the disarmament material in the Council's possession be sent to the Assembly.

I heard some Americans talking as they left the seats reserved for the public. Is this really, one asked, an Assembly of the United Nations working for peace, or is it a meeting of the military staffs planning for war? A lady said to me, "Don't you think they have become too panicky about the atomic bomb?" I answered, "No, Madame, many people here do not fear the atomic bomb so much as they fear an agreement."

It is in this atmosphere that the delegates will consider Vishinsky's proposal for a peace pact among the great powers, which will come up for discussion soon or at the end of the session; although there are rumors that, like the Paris Assembly last year, this one will be divided into two parts and the most controversial matters put off until next spring.

Russia could act effectively against these delaying maneuvers if it chose to. It could take a position so challenging that the Assembly would be as thoroughly aroused as was world opinion by President Truman's announcement of September 22. With the whole international situation revolutionized by the fact that Russia has the atomic bomb, the time seems opportune for the Soviet delegates to make a truly bold proposal to the Assembly. Why should they not say something like this? We consider the atomic bomb morally as inadmissible as poison gas. The use of poison gas in war is prohibited by a Hague convention, but such a convention will not suffice for the bomb. Consequently we demand the destruction of the atomic bomb. If it is agreed that all stockpiles shall be destroyed, we will destroy ours within forty-eight hours. We are ready to accept international inspection and control on the basis of this agreement, completed by a general reduction of conventional armaments such as we have proposed.

What would Russia risk by accepting control? That the iron curtain might be perforated? That the Control Commission might come back saying that everything is horrible in the Soviet Union? Nothing that the commission could report, however, would be worse than what the Western countries have been told about the Soviet Union for the past two years. Have not the British said that ten million people are in its concentration camps? Have we not read dozens of stories in the American press about the appalling inefficiency of the Russian system of production? It was on the basis of those stories that people imagined it would take Russia years to produce the atomic bomb. Now it is realized that the Soviet system is not so inefficient, and one American expert, Dr. Urey, has expressed the opinion that in two years Russia, for all practical purposes, could be as strong in atomic weapons as the United States. The Control Commission might even report some advances in other fields as well.

In any case, by making such a clear-cut declaration the Soviet delegation could put an end once and for all to the kind of maneuvers I have described. What is more important, it could get the majority in the Assembly and the weight of world opinion on its side.

Greece: Betrayal as Usual

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

[*Constantine Poulos got into Greece and lived with the guerrillas before the first British contingents arrived in 1944. Regular readers of* The Nation *will recall that he has covered subsequent events in that unhappy country with insight and a real prophetic gift, while being constantly subject to bitter attacks from both the far left and the far right. Now in Israel for the Overseas News Agency, he wrote the present article, marking the fifth anniversary of Greek "liberation," almost four weeks ago so that it might reach our office in good time. This was two weeks before the announcement by the Greek guerrillas that they had ceased hostilities. Mr. Poulos's conclusions, it will be noted, have been more than borne out by events.*]

Tel Aviv, October 2

IN HIS speech of September 21 before the U. N. General Assembly, Dean Acheson expressed the hope "that Russia would join in renewed consultations looking toward a settlement in Greece." Obviously the State Department now feels that it holds a better hand in the Greek situation than it did last May when *Pravda* suggested that "the Greek problem not only can but must be solved." Even before that, Ernest Bevin had raised the subject of Greece "as second in importance only to Germany." Nevertheless, the Greek problem did not make the agenda of the Paris meeting of the Foreign Ministers. It now appears that Moscow and Washington have decided to reach an "agreement."

As far back as May, 1948, the United States was prepared to consider the Greek phase of the Kremlin's "peace offensive." At that time the reliable James Reston wrote in the New York *Times*:

> The feeling here in Washington is that the Russians could easily improve the international situation by encouraging a relaxation of pressure in Greece. . . . The Greek situation therefore seems to have certain diplomatic possibilities. These may be explored at Belgrade if the Danubian conference is arranged. The enthusiasm

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of the United States for pouring $300,000,000 a year into Greece and maintaining a military and economic staff there could probably be restrained, particularly if someone arranged for the uprising of the Greek Communists to come to an end.

The place for working out an agreement was selected, but by the time the Danubian conference was held in Belgrade, the Tito-Cominform schism had presented the Russians with new problems, and the Americans sought other solutions. Both powers could bide their time so far as Greece was concerned.

IN THE summer of 1948 Russia was far more concerned with destroying Tito than with the fate of the long stalemated guerrilla forces in Greece. When it became evident that Tito would not be overthrown merely by splenetic denunciations, the Kremlin renewed its support for an "autonomous" Macedonian state to be created out of Macedonian areas now divided among Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Evidently Russia hoped to unseat Tito either by the threat inherent in such an explosive project or by actually engineering an uprising in Yugoslav Macedonia which would be supported by the Greek guerrillas and by irregular anti-Tito forces based in Albania and Yugoslavia. But there was no uprising in Yugoslavia, and Tito was not dislodged.

In Greece the Russian move proved calamitous for the guerrillas, who then controlled a large part of the country. Markos Vafiades, their titular commander, who had been expelled from the Greek Communist Party in 1924 for refusing to join in the Comintern's pro-Bulgarian propaganda for an "autonomous Macedonia," rebelled again. His naive attempt to steer clear of the Kremlin-Tito fight was doomed from the start. Moscow could not afford any deviations on this vital issue. Last January Markos disappeared.

The sincerity of the Greek left, which had always successfully disproved the manufactured charges that it was planning to sell out Greek Macedonia, had been vindicated in the first few years after the "liberation" of Greece. But in March, 1949, the Kremlin's Greek agents announced the formation of a Provisional Democratic Government which included for the first time representatives from the "People's Liberation Front of Slav Macedonia." Thus the Greek left was betrayed once more and the truly popular basis of the Greek guerrilla movement destroyed. By picking up the disastrous Macedonian issue which it had quietly dropped thirteen years earlier, the Greek Communist Party again subordinated the needs and aspirations of the Greek people to the Kremlin's plots. Nor was this enough. The party began at once to put in its cheap twopenny's worth of calumnies against Tito. In July, as the threat of possible Greek guerrilla attacks developed, Tito closed the Greek-Yugoslav frontier and stopped providing asylum and aid to the guerrillas. After that the Greek government's military successes were cheap.

Tito bears no responsibility for the defeat of the guerrillas. For a full year he had steadfastly resisted, for ideological as well as personal reasons, the strong pressure that London and Washington put on him to close the frontier. It was Moscow's decision which determined that the gallant Greek guerrilla movement was expendable. Russia's overtures to the Western powers for a "settlement" of the Greek civil war, proudly echoed in the world-wide Stalinist press during the past two years, heralded the beginning of the end of the insurrection in Greece.

Now Russia is again willing to make the "settlement" it was ready to make two years ago, one year ago, or six months ago. Russia's mood six months ago was explained by one analyst in this manner: "There is reason to suppose that the Russians would, at the present stage, be willing to pay a price for some sort of peace guaranty —even if it should mean for them some loss of face in Berlin and perhaps in Greece and one or two other places."

ONE way or another, the Berlin hurdle has been cleared, and the Greek "settlement" is next on the books—a grand, generous Russian contribution to world peace. Abandonment of the Greek guerrilla movement is a "concession" in the Soviet Union's general peace offensive, a maneuver which was correctly spelled out in *The Nation* two years ago [Constantine Poulos: What's Our Game in Greece? August 30, 1947]. I predicted at that time that Russia's aggressive moves in Greece were all carefully calculated, marked "for disposal" before they were even executed, and would eventually be discarded as magnanimous proof of the Soviet Union's peaceful intention. I also said that the "Greek guerrillas would be left holding the bag, reduced to bitter, endless fighting, without a voice or a hand raised in their support."

Today the word "people" may be substituted for the word "guerrillas." To put it bleakly, there is no way out in Greece now. The State Department's desire for an agreement is based on the calculation that sooner or later Congress will restrain its enthusiasm for pouring limitless funds into Greece. (By next spring, the third anniversary of Truman's Doctrine, the United States will have spent one billion dollars in Greece.) Russia imposed the Truman Doctrine, and Russia disposes of it.

But the Truman Doctrine did solidify the power of the brutal and reactionary Athens tyranny, and the United States is still committed to support that tyranny. As a result of this commitment American officials in Greece have never been able, despite their control of the flow of dollars, to bring about any of the

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much-needed reforms, to curb the avarice and ruthlessness of the Athens crowd. They will certainly be less able to do any of these things when the flow of dollars is reduced. That is why all genteel hopes that an "arrangement" between the great powers will put an end to the basic struggle between the Greek people and the vested interests are naive, if not nonsensical. Five and a half years ago the British Foreign Office suggested and worked out an arrangement with the Kremlin—a "free hand" for Great Britain in Greece in exchange for a "free hand" for the Soviet Union in Rumania; we have yet to see all its bloody consequences.

Greece was liberated just five years ago this month. The resistance to the pre-war dictatorship and the Nazi occupation sprang from the militant spirit of a splendid people kept in misery, poverty, and backwardness for at least a century. This resistance marked their regeneration. That the Stalinists exploited this spirit, led it down blind alleys, and subordinated it to the Kremlin's wishes does not detract from its validity.

Communist betrayal of the struggle of the Greek people against fascism and exploitation, American support for the forces consolidating that same fascism and exploitation—that is the history of Greece during the past five years. As a footnote, it should be noted that Constantine Maniadakis, the notorious chief of Dictator John Metaxas' Gestapo, returned to Greece from the Argentine three months ago. His arrival was prominently and joyfully recorded in the right-wing press of Athens, and a few weeks ago he announced the formation of a new political party called the "Greek Renaissance."

The End of Jim Curley?

BY JOHN P. MALLAN

Boston, October 18

ALTHOUGH Election Day is only about three weeks off, probably few Boston voters have given the mayoralty contest a thought. Not many probably could even name the leading contenders—except, of course, the incumbent, James Michael Curley, now running for the fifth time, and apparently planning to go on as Mayor "until the age of 125," as he said in a recent speech.

The apathy of the Boston voter is matched only by the peculiarities of the Boston political situation. In the first place, there are five candidates for the mayoralty, the election is non-partisan, and there is no run-off. If Curley receives only a plurality, as he did in 1945, he will still be reelected. Thirteen candidates originally filed for Mayor, of whom nine turned in the minimum of 3,000 signatures required. However, all but five have been dropped by the election commission on the ground that some of their signatures were duplicated on other candidates' petitions—although similar duplication did not bar aspirants to the City Council.

John B. Hynes is thought by most observers to have the best chance of success. Hynes has been employed in the City Hall for twenty-nine years in various capacities and now holds the lifetime job of city clerk. He admits that he admired and indeed "loved" Curley until recent years, and that he broke with him only in 1937, to support Maurice Tobin for Mayor.

Hynes was an obscure civil servant until 1947, when he was the beneficiary of a strange and complicated deal. In that year, after a protracted legal struggle, Curley was ordered to serve a six-to-eighteen-month prison sentence for using the mails to defraud. In any other city this situation would have meant a special election—particularly since the president of the City Council, who would normally become acting mayor, was under indictment by a Boston grand jury in a different case. The Republican Governor and Republican state legislature, however, passed a special law protecting Curley's right to continue as Mayor of Boston and paying his full salary to him while in prison. The Boston City Council was bypassed, and City Clerk John B. Hynes was made acting mayor, also at full salary, though Hynes had been given life tenure as city clerk on condition that he did not become a candidate for office.

What Governor Bradford received in return for saving Curley's political life is not yet clear. It is conceivable that he did it as a matter of principle, since the justice of Curley's sentence is still doubtful. It is more likely that the Republicans hoped for support in the future from overwhelmingly Democratic Boston. No such support, however, was delivered in the 1948 election, and Bradford was beaten easily by Paul A. Dever.

After Curley had served five months in prison, his sentence was commuted by the President; like other city bosses, Curley has enjoyed the respectful attention of both Roosevelt and Truman. He returned to City Hall in triumph and was greeted by a cheering crowd with a band in a wild scene which received nation-wide publicity. Since that time his prison sentence has

JOHN P. MALLAN teaches political science at Boston University.

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seldom been referred to in public and is not being made an issue in this campaign. Nevertheless, this episode, plus the fact that he is now seventy-five years old, leads some observers to believe that he will be beaten.

John Hynes is a poor speaker. He has never run for any office before and is aware of his limitations as a politician. He apparently did a fair job in his five months as Mayor but has found it hard to dramatize his administrative talents to the voters. His main asset seems to be his appearance of honesty, sincerity, and humility, plus a remarkable city-wide organization which has been built up by a coalition of many groups—Republicans, good-government people, dissident Democrats. As elected Mayor of Boston—and conceivably heir to one of the most powerful machines in the state and national Democratic Party—it is impossible to predict what he would do.

Hynes's chief opponent is Patrick J. McDonough, an almost incredibly aggressive South Boston politician who has served several terms in the state legislature and is now a member of the Governor's Council. What talents Hynes lacks, McDonough has in excess. In his youth, brashness, and personal drive he is reminiscent of Minnesota's Hubert Humphrey, though he shows less intellectual brilliance. He is a fine orator and is fond of singing "Galway Bay" and other Irish melodies at rallies. Recently he adopted his nickname "Sonny" as his legal middle name, and it will appear on the ballot; this action was not only good advertising but a desirable precaution in a city where dummy candidates named Patrick J. McDonough would be easy to find.

McDonough's liberal-labor record is good; he organized C. I. O.-P. A. C. in Massachusetts in 1944 and during his terms in the legislature supported a number of worthy measures, including a state F. E. P. C. law. His main drawbacks seem to be that his support so far is limited to a relatively small part of the city and that he is distrusted by the fusion forces, which have rallied around Hynes. It is possible that he and Hynes will divide the anti-Curley vote, or McDonough may draw from the Curley strength and indirectly aid Hynes.

The other two candidates are not expected to poll many votes. George F. Oakes is an ultra-conservative real-estate operator who has been repudiated by most Republican and business leaders, though he is the only Republican in the race. He is apparently running on his own funds and has been attacking all the other candidates as Curley stooges. His chief support comes from the conservative *Herald* and its waspish political columnist, Bill Mullins, who asks peevishly why it is impossible for a Republican to be elected Mayor. Walter O'Brien, the Progressive candidate, is an able left-winger who is not popular in Catholic Boston and will receive few votes—except perhaps from those who like his name.

The Boston newspapers, which print very little news unless it concerns crime or sports, have practically ignored the campaign. Undoubtedly, their traditional on-the-fence attitude of refusing to indorse candidates, criticize Curley, or even express an editorial opinion is a major factor in the indifference of the Boston voter. The only exceptions are the two papers which few Bostonians read—the *Herald*, which is more worked up over the welfare state and taxes than the actual problems of South Boston or Charlestown, and the *Monitor*, which is on such a high intellectual level and so occupied with world affairs that it gives no continuous picture of Boston developments.

Boston labor, while a factor in last year's state and national elections, is divided on the question of the mayoralty. A few A. F. of L. leaders are supporting Hynes; a few C. I. O. leaders are for McDonough. Some of the special-interest unions, including that of the city workers, are of course for Curley. But labor in general is keeping out of the campaign. The A. D. A. and the small good-government organizations are also divided, particularly since the defeat of "Plan E"—a proposal for city management and proportional representation—by a Curley maneuver earlier in the year. It is probable that the A. D. A. will concentrate on passing Plan A—a minor city-charter change which cuts down the City Council, introduces a run-off election for city officers, and will force another city election in two years instead of four.

Seligson

James M. Curley

If Curley is defeated—and the chances seem better than even that he will be—the main liberal-labor interest may be not so much in his successor at City Hall as in the local Democratic party machine. The downfall of Tammany in New York brought the rise of new labor-liberal leaders in that state's politics; the breaking of the Kelley-Nash machine in Chicago gave the nation Paul Douglas and Adlai Stevenson within a year. Whoever inherits Boston's City Hall, it will be good for the state of Massachusetts, and the nation, if new and younger men are brought into prominence, as has happened elsewhere with the defeat of the old-fashioned machines. At the least, such a change would aid the few excellent Democratic leaders, such as Maurice Tobin, John Kennedy, and John McCormack, in their struggle with the Joe Martins and Christian Herters.

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Mudslinging in Manila

BY ANDREW ROTH

Manila-Singapore, October

THE Philippines' first Presidential election since independence will take place on November 8. As the campaign approaches what will apparently be a photo finish—Quirino and Laurel are now almost neck and neck—charges and counter-charges have created an atmosphere of murderous bitterness. It is as if the inflamed emotions of a Cuban revolution had been injected into an American political brawl. The mudslinging pace is set by the Nationalist Party's Congressional candidate for Manila's Second District, Arsenio ("Arsenic") Lacson. A flat-nosed former pugilist who wears dark glasses day and night, Lacson is the chief local imitator of Walter Winchell and Westbrook Pegler. His column in the *Star Reporter* demonstrates the almost complete lack of Filipino libel laws.

Lacson and the Nationalists accuse the dominant Liberal Party of corruption and a "soft" nationalism. The Liberal Party is split into the "Quirino wing" and the "Avelino wing," but both President Quirino and party boss Avelino, the third candidate for the Presidency, are "soft" nationalists—that is, they are anxious for the Philippines to remain a virtual economic colony of the United States. They are both enthusiastic supporters of the Philippines Trade Act, which the republic had to accept as a condition for receiving badly needed rehabilitation aid. (Under this act the peso is tied to the dollar and can only be changed with permission of the United States President. American goods enter the Philippines duty free, and the Philippines must charge as heavy import duties on non-American goods as the United States does. The act also provides that Americans have equal rights with Filipinos in the development of the country's resources. In exchange for these concessions Philippines products, with maximum quotas on some of them, are granted free entrance to the United States for eight years, after which duties are to increase 5 per cent each year. The sugar and copra interests are eager to keep this free access to the American market.)

The quarrel between Quirino and Avelino was over power and spoils. Avelino is a typical party boss whose motto is, "In politics everything goes." Quirino attempted to clip his wings. They split definitely last spring over the distribution of immigration permits to wealthy Chinese fleeing before the Communists' southward march. By law the Chinese quota of 800 is distributed by lot, but in practice entrance permits are auctioned off by the legislators. As leader of the Senate, Avelino claimed his share. Quirino had him expelled for graft, whereupon Avelino attempted unsuccessfully to have Quirino impeached on the same charge. "The issue," Avelino candidly told me, "is who is *less* corrupt!" In the succeeding ruckus Avelino was shown to have amassed a fortune—on which he did not pay income tax—by having a dummy corporation buy war surplus from the government at preferential prices and sell it on the open market.

PLUMP, smooth Elpidio Quirino is one of a group of Filipino politicos who are more fastidious about their dozens of white sharkskin suits than their reputations for honesty. Before the war he was Secretary of Interior in Quezon's Cabinet. He received a lot of public sympathy in the last months of the war when his wife and three children were killed by the Japanese. He was elected Vice-President in 1946 on the American-supported Roxas ticket and became President in 1948 when Roxas died.

Quirino has been sensitive to the interests of the plantation magnates but has largely ignored the needs of the republic as a whole. Despite more than $800,000,000 in aid from the United States, little has been done to rehabilitate the islands' war-shattered economy. Manila was one of the worst-destroyed of the world's capitals and has probably been rebuilt the least—except Rangoon. Although the republic exports only half as much as it imports from the United States—with the difference made up in American rehabilitation aid—until very recently an amazing proportion of its dollars has been squandered on evening bags, Hawaiian shirts, and the other unimportant luxuries which cram Manila's stores. A tobacco-growing country, the Philippines last year spent $24,000,000 for American cigarettes.

Largely because of such easygoing planlessness, Manila is the most expensive city in Asia. This does not seem to irk the immaculately dressed moneyed classes whose luxurious American cars crowd the streets, but others find it difficult to contend with costs that are three and a half times as high as before the war. (As much as one-third of the national income goes into the pockets of 1 per cent of the population.) Filipino workers are about the highest paid in Asia, with the average city worker earning four pesos ($2) a day, but only those who are fully employed—perhaps half of Manila's workers—can cope with the high cost of living.

Last March and April it looked as if Quirino was too

ANDREW ROTH is The Nation's *Far East correspondent.*

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Laurel and Quirino

badly besmirched with corruption to win the Presidency. As the Liberal Party's dirty linen was washed in public, it was disclosed that he had padded his expense accounts by including all manner of entertainments and gifts for his family and supporters as well as fantastic purchases for his official residence, Malacanan Palace. Political critics had a lot of fun with the $2,500 bed he had bought. When it was discovered that he had spent $1,350 for a perfume cabinet for his daughter but only $200 for an altar, one newspaper commented: "Obviously the needs of the body are more expensive than the needs of the soul." (Recently there has been brought to light a gigantic arms-smuggling ring the extent of whose operations strongly suggests some official connivance.)

Through two brilliant maneuvers, however, Quirino regained the lead over his rivals: he launched the idea of a Pacific Pact, and he paid a visit to the United States. Harold Stassen first proposed a Pacific Pact as a "MacArthur Plan" to parallel Europe's "Marshall Plan"; Quirino, who is supposed to be "MacArthur's man" in the Philippines, immediately climbed on the band-wagon. Before he knew it, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek came to sew him up in an anti-Communist Pacific Pact. Quirino exulted in his transformation into a "world statesman" until Carlos P. Rómulo broke the news to him that in allying himself with Chiang Kai-shek he had hitched his wagon to a falling star and that the United States did not want a Pacific Pact with military implications. He then shifted to a non-military "Pacific Union" whose formation has been relegated to the distant future.

On his visit to America he received a sensational welcome, for the United States was smarting from its loss of prestige in China and needed reassurance that it still had friends in Asia. Quirino asked for more economic help from the United States so that the tens of thousands of Filipinos who claimed to have been guerrillas could be recognized and paid. If he had received this money his election would have been certain. From words used by President Truman at a formal dinner Quirino and his supporters thought his mission had been successful, and when his plane landed at Manila's airport, 30,000 people were on hand to greet him and another 200,000 lined the streets to Malacanan Palace. President Truman's assurances, however, have remained unfulfilled, largely because the State Department fears that to supersensitive Filipinos financial aid at this time would look like American intervention in the election.

Quirino's chances have also been hurt by the economic storm signals that have been going up in the islands. Since April, production and exports, especially of copra, have been falling off steadily, and devaluation has made it easier for Indonesian copra to compete in the American market. A growing number of Filipinos fear real hard times in 1950 and are not sure that Quirino knows what to do about it.

IN THESE final weeks of the campaign the United States embassy is becoming increasingly concerned lest the "soft" nationalism of the affable Quirino be replaced by the "hard" nationalism of José P. Laurel. Americans would find it hard to swallow Laurel, for it was he who as President of Japan's puppet republic declared war on the United States in 1944.

José Laurel is a brilliant and sensitive right-wing nationalist with a longstanding personal grievance against the United States. As a young man he did graduate work at Yale and is said to have had his pride wounded by social slights. On his return to the islands he moved up rapidly in the civil service. In 1923, when he was Secretary of Interior and obviously a man with a future, he clashed with the United States Governor General over the American chief of Manila's vice squad. Laurel was convinced the man was corrupt and dealing in opium and had him brought to trial, but the charges were dismissed and Laurel was ordered to reinstate him. Instead, he resigned and persuaded most of the high Filipino officials to resign with him. The others were later reinstated. Laurel remained in the political wilderness, while inferior men reached high public office.

Although Laurel carved out a fine law practice and was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by Quezon in 1936, he turned into pro-Japanese paths. His law firm represented many Japanese companies, and he sent his sons to Japan to study. In 1938 he was the first Filipino to receive an honorary Doctor of Laws from Tokyo Imperial University. In 1941, in an opinion on the wide emergency powers granted President Quezon, he said that "constitutional dictatorship" was in keeping with the world trend, in which "totalitarianism [was] gradually supplanting democracy." He lauded Japan's "constitutional and benevolent dictatorship." Soon after the Japanese swept into the Philippines, Laurel entered the government and in the end became

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puppet President. Many Filipinos have felt that he acted primarily out of a misguided nationalism.

In the first post-war year, while Laurel was in prison, first in Japan and then in the Philippines, the issue of "collaboration" raged violently. But the waters were muddied by American support for the late Manuel Roxas, who had served in Laurel's Cabinet but now claimed he had been secretly "in touch" with MacArthur. By the time Laurel came to trial late in 1946, Roxas had been elected President, and strong anti-American feeling had been aroused by the Philippines Trade Act. During his trial, which ended with the charges against him being dismissed, Laurel declared, "This republic is as much a puppet as the one during the occupation."

As a candidate for the Presidency Laurel has been handicapped surprisingly little by his collaborationist record. In fact, he has capitalized on anti-American sentiment, exploiting the widespread feeling that the United States has welshed on its promises. During the war the United States declared that "every chicken, every carabao would be paid for" after the islands were recaptured, but Congress has granted funds for compensation for only part of the war damage. In his campaign speeches Laurel has insisted that the Philippines should stand on their own feet and not depend completely on the United States, and has flayed America's extortion of economic privileges in the Philippines. Yet at the same time he has felt obliged to deny that he is anti-American in order to erase the fear, spread by the opposition parties, that if he is elected, American help to the Philippines will cease.

Laurel is receiving the tacit support of the Filipino Communists, who caused havoc in central Luzon through their leadership of the Huk guerrillas but have little political strength. One Communist leader is quoted as saying in Laurel's defense, "The other candidates favor collaboration with American imperialism, which is worse than Japanese militarism." Anti-Laurel factions are spreading the story that the Huk commander, Luis Taruc, will be Secretary of Interior in the Laurel Cabinet. More objective observers think that as an ambitious man Laurel has been willing to accept help from any quarter but that as a confirmed rightist he is likely, if elected, to toss his strange bedfellows into jail.

Bonn: the Face Is Familiar

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, October 17

THE Parliament of the West German state, the so-called Federal Republic, had hardly been called to order when an incident occurred which cast considerable light on the political situation. The stage was set for it by the leader of the fifteen Communist deputies, Max Reimann, when he referred to the present eastern boundary of Germany, along the Oder and Neisse rivers, as the "peace frontier." All the previous speakers had rejected this new boundary line and insisted on Germany's right to the provinces lost to Russia and Poland. Reimann's words were cut short by a deafening storm of protests. In the midst of it two strange figures clad in ragged army uniforms, their feet bare, suddenly appeared in the chamber. To the tumultuous applause of the right and the government parties one of them strode to the speaker's platform, pointed to his feet and his naked chest, and announced that he was a soldier who had just returned from a Russian prison. The angry suspicions expressed by the Communists and Social Democrats compelled the presiding officer, who belonged to the party of Chancellor Adenauer, to have the intruders ejected. They went no farther, however, than the restaurant in the building, where they stayed for two days as guests of some of the bourgeois deputies. On the third day they left town, wearing good clothes, with signed photographs of the Chancellor, as well as other gifts, in their pockets, and carrying the costumes for their parts in good leather suitcases. It has now been proved that the appearance of the returned war prisoners was a play to the gallery put on by rightist deputies.

In the Ruhr the dismantlings are being carried out with the aid of tanks and bayonets. Unemployment is increasing, and the need in the affected districts evokes more protests in Parliament. It is said openly that the British want to destroy their German competitors. The three High Commissioners announce that the dismantlings will continue. Some days later the newspapers publish an account of an interview granted to a representative of the International News Service by John J. McCloy, the American Commissioner. McCloy told the I. N. S. reporter that he was for stopping the "purposeless dismantlings." He recommended instead placing Ruhr industry under international military control. Great joy in Germany. "McCloy Against the Dismantlings" is spread across the front pages of the newspapers. Thereupon a Reuter's dispatch from London says the three

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of a West German liberal who serves as The Nation's *correspondent in Germany. In a second article on the new western Federal Republic he will analyze the political situation in greater detail.*

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Allied governments have decided to carry through the dismantlings. McCloy issues a new statement: That's right; in the I. N. S. interview he expressed only his private opinion.

WHILE people were trying to figure out this crossword puzzle, an American journalist, O. K. Armstrong of *Reader's Digest*, came to Bonn and addressed two hundred deputies in a room of the Parliament building. Bringing greetings from the so-called Laymen's Movement for a Christian World, he said that he represented and was gathering information for Senator James P. Kem of Missouri. Amid great applause he declaimed: "I believe that understanding and cooperation between the people of Germany and America are impossible under the post-war policies followed by my government. . . . Two years ago I was astonished to find that the policies of our occupation government did not represent the best in American democratic life. I knew that the vast majority of the American people had no conception of what was going on over here."

And before the two hundred deputies and a large number of German newspapermen he roundly condemned: (1) The unconditional surrender of Germany. "Many of us denounced this as likely to prolong the war and certain to bring unnecessary destruction in Germany." (2) The "tragic decision" to permit Soviet Russia to move into much of defeated Germany. (3) The denazification program, which is "contrary to all American principles of justice." "No one can commit a crime as a member of an organization or group, political or otherwise. Yet denazification is clearly the acceptance of mass guilt and the application of mass punishment. . . . Denazification is ex post facto in its entirety—against our Bill of Rights and our law." (4) The dismantlings. "The Hague Convention denies the right of any victorious power to remove or destroy property as reparations except by agreements in the treaties of peace. I have been told by representatives of my government who have served on the original reparations agencies that representatives of other countries involved in dismantling of plants were and are greatly interested in eliminating German industrial competition. I cannot believe these reports. . . ." In conclusion he declared, "I am ashamed that some of my countrymen have made a mockery of those cherished concepts and practices of liberty and democracy. . . . I hope you will move quickly to blot out that which is so closely allied to Soviet Communist practices and replace it with the historic justice of free men."

This exhortation was superfluous. In Mr. Armstrong's audience were deputies belonging to the secret Nazi parties in the Bonn Parliament, whose spokesmen a few days earlier had dragged democracy through the mud and demanded that not only Austria be joined to Germany but also the Sudetenland. Just as in Hitler's blessed time! Denazification? All Germany laughs about it. Let the good man from Missouri inquire of Chancellor Adenauer or one of his fourteen Cabinet ministers about the way former Nazis are being installed in the new ministries. There is "historic justice" for you! These "free men" are acting so efficiently to "blot out" the practices deplored by Mr. Armstrong that—to mention but one instance—in Markredwitz in Bavaria the Jewish community is being persecuted just as in Hitler's time. Measures granting amnesty to convicted Nazis are already before Parliament, also measures granting damages and pensions to officers in Hitler's army and Nazi civil servants. Mr. Armstrong came too late. He sent the manuscript of his speech to all the newspapers, but they didn't consider it worth printing. The Germans had already gone farther.

What did interest both the people and the press, however, was the report of the widespread demand in the United States for a West German army equipped with American weapons. One hears that talked about everywhere, on the street and in the cafes. Is such an army to be the American answer to the new East German state—and an umbrella for Europe against a shower of Russian atom bombs? The many true German democrats, hard pressed from within and without, ask themselves in despair if the idea of power which Bismarck introduced and Hitler pushed to its final conclusion has conquered the world, so that even in the classic democratic countries the power of the idea has become an empty gut. Do the Western powers want a nationalistic West Germany, united against Russia and an exact counter-weight to a National-Communist East Germany, or do they want a democratic Germany? Nationalism or democracy, one or the other—there is no third choice in Germany. A democratic West Germany and a Communist East Germany could no more mix than fire and water, but will a nationalistic West Germany remain permanently immune to the infection from the east? It is highly doubtful. If West German democracy, however, had a firm economic and social base, it could exert a powerful attraction on East Germans.

At present a propertied middle class, aided by the occupation powers, is cunningly and ruthlessly pursuing a foreign and domestic policy designed to preserve its class privileges and gratify its greed for profits. Nationalism and anti-Semitism, the lack of housing and the dismantlings, the misery of the millions of refugees and of the war prisoners in Russia, religion and the church—all these things were exploited in the election campaign to assure that the bourgeois parties, which were lavishly financed by the "impoverished industrialists," should have a majority in the new Parliament. It was necessary, at any cost, to avert the calamity of a welfare state on the pattern of the British Labor government. That was the meaning of the recent election.

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That Labor "Octopus"

BY SID LENS

TWO interesting themes have been developed so far at the Robertson subcommittee hearings in the Senate. According to Thurman Arnold, unions have a right to be monopolies so long as they are not restrictive; Arnold called upon Congress to "give the unions the power to monopolize the labor supply." On the other side, Theodore R. Iserman, who represents various large business enterprises, suggests that nine proposals be enacted into law to curb the power of labor "monopoly." If Iserman had his way unions would be forbidden to bargain collectively with any group of employers representing 500 or more workers, to strike in concert, or to put any pressure on their affiliates to bargain for identical terms with such a group of employers or to subject themselves to common control.

It must be recalled that in 1947 legislation similar to these proposals passed the House overwhelmingly and failed by only one vote to squeeze through the Senate. Agitation against national collective bargaining is intense and has been sustained for a number of years. The press has paraded a host of incidents to cultivate the impression that "labor monopolies" are in restraint of trade. Restrictions in the building trades, Lewis's cutting of the work week to three days by union decree alone, and other such phenomena are played up by writers who have a blind spot for industrial monopolies but seem to sniff out union "monopolies" at every turn.

"Monopoly" may derive from exclusive control over the sale of commodities, or over production facilities, or over the labor supply. In early days in America every farmer had control over all three—the labor supplied by Negro slaves or indentured white servants, the tools and the land, and the disposal of the crop. Artisans also in that period usually worked for themselves, with their own tools, and owned and sold the finished product. But as time went on and as the demand for shoes, textiles, iron products increased, the artisan set up a small manufactory and employed a handful of journeymen. No longer able to do all the work himself, he maintained his monopoly over the finished product and the facilities of production but relinquished his monopoly over the labor supply.

This loss was not too serious, because each journeyman confronted the employer with his demands and grievances as an individual. The employer could say, "If you don't like it, quit," and if he lost but one man his production was only slightly impaired. It was only when the one man was joined by his brother journeymen and all together answered the employer's ultimatum with, "If you don't grant our demands you lose your labor supply and must shut down," that a labor monopoly was counterposed to the two monopolies enjoyed by the employer.

Our society is thus based on monopoly—exclusive control. Both employers and unions have monopolies in their own fields. As the United States grew from a mercantile nation to an industrial one and finally to a "monopolistic" one, the area of "exclusive control" grew. Small employers merged, or were swallowed up by giants, or, in depression times, by banks. We have now reached the state of affairs where one-eighth of one per cent of the corporations control 51 per cent of all corporate wealth. In thirteen industries two or three companies, sometimes one, dominate the whole market. Almost half of America's capital assets is controlled by 113 corporations.

This growth of industrial monopoly has its counterpart in labor. From small, local, isolated unions labor has moved to city federations of labor, state federations of labor, the alliance of workers of a similar craft or industry in a number of cities in a national craft or industrial union, and finally the federation of national unions in the American Federation of Labor and later the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The question, then, Are labor unions monopolies? makes just as little sense as the question, Is the Aluminum Corporation of America a monopoly? Both are. A labor union attempts, in the words of Thurman Arnold, "to monopolize the labor supply" in its field, and Alcoa dominates the production facilities and the sale of finished products in the aluminum field.

The real point at issue is not whether they are monopolies but whether they are harmful to the general welfare. Industrial monopolies that combine in restraint of trade, that boost prices, that keep back new production facilities, that withhold better products from the market, that set up predatory world cartels to exploit colonial peoples—these are harmful monopolies. But the monopoly that a labor union attempts to establish is by and large a beneficial one. It tries to raise wages, increase purchasing power, achieve some security for the majority of the people. Properly speaking it is a *counter*-monopoly, a defensive weapon against more

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SID LENS, author of "Left, Right, and Center: Conflicting Forces in American Labor," is the director of Local 329 of the United Service Employees' Union in Chicago. In The Nation *of September 3 he wrote on Jurisdictional Strikes.*

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powerful monopolies. And as counter-monopolies unions are still a long way from being able to match their strength with the monopolies they face.

BY WAY of example, Chicago has just witnessed a strike of 1,600 truck drivers against a number of gasoline-hauling companies. The men were working for approximately 29 cents an hour less than drivers in New York. The companies offered 7½ cents more on condition that the men give up their premium pay for Saturday work, equivalent to about 6 cents per hour. After three weeks the strike was settled for an increase of 10 cents.

Most of the small independent companies were willing to give the truckers a 17½ cent raise, but nine or ten major oil companies controlling the market refused to budge. We have here a contest of monopolies. But which is stronger? The major oil companies have interests all over the country and the world. The loss of some business in Chicago could easily be absorbed by profits elsewhere. Really to hurt Standard Oil it would be necessary to stop its deliveries throughout the nation; but our unions do not operate that way. Truck drivers are organized throughout the country, but instead of adhering to a *centralized* national policy, each local sets its own standards.

Here is another example. Typographical workers in Chicago went out on strike against four newspapers. The four papers bound themselves to a unit rule in dealing with the union, which meant that they had a common—monopolistic—policy. They were able to publish throughout the strike because they replaced the linotype work with a new simplified typing process called "varityping," and because the men making plates, mailing, delivering, and so on belonged to twenty-one other unions that were not involved in the strike. The employers' monopoly was thus much more powerful than that of the union.

Recently my own union quickly enrolled about 25 per cent of 250 workers in a factory, only to have most of these members discharged. We were in a dilemma. To take the case to the National Labor Relations Board meant at least a year and a half of litigation and probably closer to three years. We were informed by the board that only nineteen trial examiners were available in the whole country and that in Chicago alone twenty-five or thirty cases were pending. Our only chance to put our people back to work was to throw a picket line around the place. With the help of sympathetic truck drivers and other workers we might, under ordinary circumstances, force the employer to yield. But this employer owned three other factories in the South, all non-union. In one of them he was ordered by the Labor Board two years ago to bargain with another union, but he refused and fired a large group of men and women. A few months ago the board's examiner ruled in the union's favor and ordered reinstatement of fifty-six employees, but the case is still kicking around and will probably go through the courts before it is through. To the four-plant monopoly of the employer we oppose a mild collaboration between our union and the one in the South, and no organization at all in the other two plants.

I could go on with these examples indefinitely. During the war four separate unions—usually not too friendly—were involved in the organization of Montgomery Ward's. The company, with a single management, had a centralized common policy in all its branches. On at least one occasion it shut down some warehouses rather than submit to organization. During the famous Chicago strikes it sent orders to be filled in St. Paul, Kansas City, and elsewhere. The Chicago union was part of the C. I. O. Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers. The St. Paul union was part of the Communist-minded C. I. O. Longshoremen, and refused to help its fellow-workers in Chicago; instead it gratefully did the work which weakened the other union. The union "monopoly" was thus picayune compared to that of the company.

In some instances, of course, the union's monopoly is equal to that of the employer. That is true in small decentralized industries which have hundreds of employers each with relatively limited capital—clothing, building trades, printing, and so on. But even here the employers are usually bound together in associations, and their economic power may match that of the union.

THE main concern of the Robertson subcommittee is with the "monopoly" of John L. Lewis's miners and the recent curtailment of the work week to three days. Here we certainly have a very powerful union, capable of shutting down the whole coal industry in a moment. But two factors have not been considered. (1) It took the miners more than seventy-five years of violent battles, long strikes, and unbearable conditions to achieve their present strength. (2) The monopoly of the union is being used to assure the mine workers relief from technological unemployment, from unsafe working conditions and many accidents, and from the very low wage scales that existed in the thirties.

Twenty-five years ago there were 100,000 miners in Illinois; today there are less than a third that number. In 1920, over the nation, 784,621 miners dug 568,000,000 tons of coal; in 1944, 453,937 miners produced 684,000,000 tons. With but a little more than half the work force, 116,000,000 more tons were dug. Loading machines and other technological changes have made ghost towns out of many coal areas and have sent tens of thousands of miners to the big cities. The use of the miners' power, therefore, to cut the work week, to gain old-age, accident, and insurance benefits, is a social good.

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The nation as a whole should provide such relief; since it doesn't we certainly can have no quarrel with a union that must defend its men without help of government.

Undoubtedly certain unions work to restrain production by fighting labor-saving devices. But the effort is usually not unilateral; employer associations frequently want the restraints and are in alliance with union officials to gain them. Moreover, the unions are forced into such a role by government inaction. The protection of men from technological unemployment or downgrading is a social problem. A man who has spent twenty years learning to be a good musician so that he can earn $100 a week should not be tossed on to the street just because we now have juke-boxes, talkie-movies, and national radio hook-ups. Nor should a carpenter who has spent a lifetime in the trade lose his security because of prefabricated homes. If government does not provide aid in such cases—as it provides subsidies, for instance, to farmers, airplane factories, air-transportation companies, and the like—then unions are forced to help themselves. The answer to restrictive practices is not to shout "monopoly" and pass legislation against them but to investigate the causes and help the men who are hurt by technological downgrading.

Ever since enactment of the Sherman law against industrial monopolies reactionary interests have attempted to turn the picture upside down. They have presented a bogyman of "labor monopolies" to distract attention from their own anti-social monopolies. The essence of the Taft-Hartley law is that it attempts to break up a socially beneficial monopoly in order to aid restrictive business monopolies. Under it unions are not permitted to engage in a secondary boycott. If a union is on strike at one plant and the employer farms out his work to another factory owned by someone else, it is illegal to put a picket line around the second factory. It is perfectly legal, however, for the employer to farm out struck work. A union, under Taft-Hartley, is not permitted to tell its members to respect the picket line around another employer. Members of a union on strike lose their job rights if the employer can replace them. If a Labor Board election is held, the strikers don't vote, the strikebreakers do. Senator Taft has singled out the weaker of the two monopolies for further weakening; that is the essence of his law.

The nation as a whole, however, faces a choice. Shall it permit the labor unions to grow as a check to the restrictive practices of industrial monopoly, or shall it weaken the unions so that big business can continue unimpeded to hamper the development of our productive facilities. The question is which monopolies to aid and which to weaken. Every progressive, mindful of the experiences of Germany and other countries, will cast his ballot for the monopoly which is attempting to reach an equitable solution for our social ills.

No Comment

IT IS heartening to report that some Americans are . . . speaking up under the sponsorship of a newly formed organization called America's Future, Inc. . . . Their weekly radio program, called "Americans, Speak Up!" is a long step in the right direction. Such well-known patriots as Robert Lund [former president of the National Association of Manufacturers], Frank Gannett, Eddie Rickenbacker . . . and others are responsible for this venture. . . . The clergy is represented by Dr. Norman Vincent Peale and Father Gannon. . . . The military by General Leslie Groves (ret.). . . . Henry Hazlitt, financial editor of *Newsweek*, and Eugene Lyons, roving editor of the *Reader's Digest*, "speak up" for the press. . . . That staunch American, Sam Pettingill, shares honors with his former colleague in Congress, Senator Harry Byrd. . . . Big—bigger—and biggest business, the producers of our food, clothing, shelter, and comforts on a lavish scale unknown in human history, has a chance to make itself heard at long last. . . . The project . . . is not highbrow by any means. [They] even throw in free music. What more can you do to make your Americanism palatable and profitable?—Dr. Ruth Alexander in the New York *Sunday Mirror*, September 11.

JAMES L. BEEBE . . . yesterday [addressed] the Los Angeles Unit of Pro-America [a women's club] . . . Judge Frederick F. Houser of the Superior Court administered the oath of loyalty to the entire luncheon assembly.—From the Los Angeles *Times*, September 29.

HOLLYWOOD—Tonight is a big night for eight-year-old Lynda Harper. She'll introduce the President of the United States on a four-network broadcast launching the communist chest drive.—From the Petaluma (Cal.) *Argus-Courier*, September 30.

DR. JOHN ISE, professor of economics at the University of Kansas, today gave advice on how to cure "isms." "Communists should . . . be compelled to read Karl Marx . . . Fascists . . . should be made to read 'Mein Kampf.'" One bright student asked: "What about the capitalists?" Ise said: "They should be forced to read the essays of George Sokolsky."—U. P. dispatch from Lawrence, Kansas, October 5.

THE FACT IS that in too many American labor unions the notion of class conflict has taken deep root. We mean the belief, tracing back to Karl Marx and other brainstorm troopers in the gray dawn of the machine age, that the interests of employers and workers are directly opposed and can never be reconciled. . . . It is nothing but tripe, and never was anything else—though it is a fact that there were many more employers with slave-driver mentalities a couple of generations ago than there are today.—From an editorial in the New York *Sunday News*, September 18.

[*Readers are invited to contribute to "No Comment" and to "In the Wind." Two dollars will be paid for each item printed.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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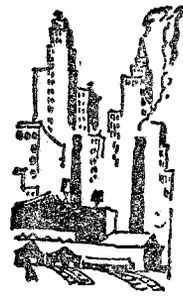

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Belgium: Teacher's Pet

IN THE school of economics conducted by American professors of free enterprise for the benefit of European nations Belgium is one of the best boys and Britain the big lout who sets a bad example to the others. Belgium, according to its report cards, quickly overcame bad wartime planning habits and, applying the lessons of individualism, scored a series of A's in its recovery tests.

A glowing account of this pupil's progress was given by William Henry Chamberlin, one of the leading pedagogues of the school, in the *Wall Street Journal* of September 7.

> In 1949 Brussels makes the impression of being the most prosperous capital in Europe. . . . Rationing in this country is only an unhappy memory. There is no limit, except the pocket-book limit, to what the Belgian can buy of foodstuffs and manufactured goods. . . . In Brussels one senses a snap and efficiency . . . which reminds one of the United States and Canada. The reason is pretty obvious. The Belgians are working for real money: they are working on a competitive basis, and they have plenty of incentive right before their eyes.

Mr. Chamberlin's description of bustling Brussels is, I am sure, accurate, but the centers of capital cities are not necessarily a reliable guide to national conditions, and I wish his report had included first-hand impressions of the back streets of Antwerp, where the chronically underemployed dock workers live, and of the coal-mining villages around Mons. True, he admits that the Belgian picture is not entirely rosy: 160,000 workers are jobless and 60,000 working part time—a rate of unemployment about five times that of Britain. However, he asserts, "what is important from the standpoint of national economy is not only full employment but efficient employment."

Mr. Chamberlin supplies no statistical proof that the underemployed but free economy of Belgium is more efficient than the planned economy of Britain which provides full employment. Fortunately, the United Nations *Economic Survey of Europe in 1948* makes possible some comparisons between the two countries. In both we find industrial production was higher in that year than in 1938, but whereas in Belgium the increase was 15 per cent, in Britain it was 21 per cent. Again, Mr. Chamberlin speaks of Belgium's achievements as an exporter; yet we find that in 1948 its export volume was only 96 per cent of 1938 while Britain's was 136 per cent. Finally, I note that the index figure for output per man in industry (1938=100) was 77 in Belgium and 108 in Britain.

It appears then that, notwithstanding the alleged greater incentives of the Belgian worker, he has not succeeded in restoring his output to the pre-war level, while the "austerity-ridden" British worker has scored an 8 per cent improvement. In this connection it is interesting to compare the coal industries of the two countries, which are alike in that both are burdened with numerous high-cost obsolete mines. Much has been written about the extent of absenteeism in the British pits. It has declined since nationalization of the industry but is still unduly high—the rate was 11.64 per cent in 1948. But it was even higher in the privately owned Belgian mines. Moreover, while output per man-shift has returned to the pre-war level in Britain, in Belgium it remains far below the average for the years 1936-38. Incidentally, ever since the war the Belgian government, for all its supposed devotion to laissez faire, has felt obliged to prop up this ailing industry with large subsidies and a compulsory scheme for pooling earnings.

Visitors to Belgium generally comment on the fine meals available there—at a price. Mr. Chamberlin, however, suggests that good eating is general throughout the country and says that a statement by John Strachey, British Minister of Food, that Belgian workers have been badly off since rationing was abolished provoked general mirth. Mr. Strachey seems to have based his case on estimates compiled by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization which show that in 1947-48 food consumption per capita was 2,667 calories in Belgium and 2,968 calories in Britain. Breaking these figures down, we find that the difference is greatest in milk and cheese, with the average Briton getting nearly twice as much of these protective foods as the average Belgian. Of course caloric intake is not a perfect measure of nutrition—I have little doubt that Belgian standards of cooking are considerably higher than British—but nevertheless these comparisons are suggestive, particularly when we consider that, thanks to rationing and food subsidies, average food consumption in Britain is something more than a mathematical concept. Almost every family is assured of a fair share, while in Belgium, where the only limit to consumption is "the pocket-book limit," it seems probable that the well-to-do get a good deal more than the average and the low-income groups a good deal less. The so-called "free" system does not necessarily preclude austerity: it may simply banish it "across the tracks" to places where the foreign visitor does not usually penetrate.

In picturing Belgium as an example of the benefits of a free-enterprise policy, some American writers have tended not only to exaggerate Belgium's prosperity but to slur over the fact that recent Belgian governments have followed an advanced social policy in some respects. A very few months after the country was liberated, its Parliament adopted a social-insurance system which except for the absence of free medical care is as comprehensive as Britain's. It provides for old-age pensions, disability pensions, and unemployment pay amounting in each case to about half the recipient's customary wage, as well as for maternity and death benefits. In addition, there is a system of children's allowances paid to all families. Total expenditure on social security is very large: in 1948 it amounted to 8 per cent of national income—a higher ratio than in Britain. Curiously, Mr. Chamberlin did not mention this blot on the prize student's record.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Uttermost Shore

THE CONDOR AND THE COWS. A South American Travel Diary. By Christopher Isherwood. Photographs by William Caskey. Random House. $3.50.

NINETEEN years ago Herr Issyvoo, young, English, his nerves and antennae brilliantly alert, stood at his window above the doom-ridden streets of Berlin: "I am a camera with its shutter open, quite passive, recording, not thinking. Recording the man shaving at the window opposite and the woman in the kimono washing her hair. Some day, all this will have to be developed, carefully printed, fixed"—as, eventually, it was, with memorable results in "The Last of Mr. Norris" and "Goodbye to Berlin."

Eight years later Mr. Isherwood went to China with Auden to visit a war; and two years ago, after a decade's residence in the United States, he made another journey, this time to Conrad's "uttermost shore of the West"—the Andean countries of South America. The space-traveler has by this time become a time-traveler as well, history combining with distance to provide a riddle more baffling and abstract than Germany's on the eve of Hitler, an antiquity more unfathomable than Asia's.

Something more than history or barbarism now stands between him and what he sees. The English youth of the early thirties has become cosmopolite, *déraciné*, a dweller in Hollywood, a devotee of Ramakrishna. His eye and wit are as lively as ever—the same quick sympathies, the squirrelish scrutiny, the open nerves and senses. But the film of the mind recognizes its inadequacy before the brutality and stupor, the violent energies and time-bound mentality, it witnesses. Mr. Isherwood has, however, learned the first rule of the literary traveler: never stay long enough in any one place to know it too well. "A diarist ought to make a fool of himself, sometimes," he says. "He aims at being impressionistic and spontaneous, rather than authoritative. That is why I have done no systematic reading on this subject. Increased knowledge could only have induced humility and an inferiority complex. Most likely, it would have stopped me writing, altogether." (Half a century ago the cabbalist MacGregor Mathers told Yeats on his first arrival in Paris: "Write your impressions at once, for you will never see Paris clearly again.")

English writers are almost the only ones left to act on this principle. It would be hard to name a serious young American writer of the past twenty years who has, short of war-time dislocations, put travel to the service of his talent. Dreiser, Dos Passos, Hemingway, Cummings, Wilder, and Wilson—all of them schooled in the more leisurely and serious travel of an older generation—are evidently the last in a once widely exploring American line. But the English, their empire shrinking, their insular claustrophobia pressing harder than ever, have continued to rove. Forster in Egypt and India, Lawrence in Italy, Australia, and Mexico, the other Lawrence in Arabia, have been followed by Greene, Waugh, MacNeice, Spender, Auden, Gorer, Fraser, and Isherwood in four continents—Africa, Mexico, Iceland, Germany, Spain, China, and the two Americas—bringing with them not only the perplexities and aching neuroses of Europe but their special English gift for social observation, sensory response, surface-skimming, and summary judgment, privileges still permitted only grudgingly to visitors in England. A book like "Europe Without Baedeker" can still raise as pained a wail, as rough a dismissal, as Hawthorne's "Our Old Home" did ninety years ago. America has lain for two centuries wide open to foreign investigators and critics. England is still the preserve of the Englishman. When he travels abroad he produces something distinctly different from, say, the French article—Claudel on China, Gide on the Congo, Michaux on Asia. He is likely to learn more about himself and England than about the people he visits.

Mr. Isherwood, rivaling Greene and outdoing Waugh in this genre, writes again with all his expected charm and agility. The world he meets here is, short of African savagery, as alien as any left to civilized exploration. It is the remotest margin of the Western Hemisphere, the long coast of stone and dust, moonlike deserts and lofty plateaus, to which the traveler descends when he crosses the Andean rampart from the tropical luxuriance and Europeanized cities of Brazil and Argentina, hemmed by the soaring cordillera and the immense void of the Pacific. Mr. Isherwood didn't take the easy way from north to south. He avoided air service when the sluggish Magdalena River steamers, suicidal buses and jeeps, or high-scaling rickety railroads were available. But his progress is swift: three days in Venezuela, seven weeks in Colombia, five in Ecuador, six in Peru, three and a half in Bolivia, six in Argentina. The amazing spectacle hurries past—jungles, rivers, deserts, Andes; Bogotá on its thin-aired height, lofty Quito and steaming Guayaquil, Lima and Arequipa in their serene and freighted richness, a swift dip into the Shell oil fields in the Ecuadorian jungle, Cuzco and Machu Picchu in their chilling desolation, Bolivia and La Paz on their sullen plateau, Argentine pampas, *estancias*, and cities in their incredible wealth.

On all this Mr. Isherwood makes notes, forms opinions, hazards judgments impossible to the long-term resident with his fuller knowledge of the complex world around him. The baffling problems of races and religions, illiteracy and education, politics and cultures, agriculture and foreign exploitation are recognized, sometimes with brilliant concision and accurate suggestion, but they are mostly left at the level of enigma and paradox. He sees what foreign oil enterprise is doing in the jungle but misses so vital a matter as the Otavalo Valley development in the Ecuadorian Andes. Politics in Bogotá, Lima, La Paz, and Buenos Aires leave him pardonably mystified by their classic mixture of Latin idealism and cynicism; the regimes of Gaitán, Haya de la Torre, Bustamante, and Perón collapsed or altered within weeks of his departure; but

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culture and literature are roughly sketched at best, even in Argentina, despite the expert guidance of Victoria Ocampo and Maria Rosa Olivér.

At the end of his journey Mr. Isherwood found refuge from the Latin riddle in the Ramakrishna Mission near Buenos Aires, where Swami Vijoyananda raises his "direct challenge to any church or sect which claims a monopoly of the truth" and asserts that "spiritual truth may be found in many different places and in many different forms." In that haven the stoic stupor of Incas and the jungle, the juntas of militarists, the seething xenophobias and nationalisms of the Latin world recede, the ambitions of foreign exploiters, scientific optimists, rival missionaries, and "material interests" (to Conrad's classic version of which in "Nostromo" Mr. Isherwood wisely recommends his readers) dissolving into ephemerality before a faith that "can move mountains . . . utterly subversive, outrageous, unself-conscious, improper, infectious."

Will such an ideal ever come to the rescue of the Latin world? Certainly not in any foreseeable future. Mr. Isherwood knows better than to propose solutions. He is in a luckier position than practical or realistic men who must struggle with the tests and pressures of immediate situations and crises. His gift and eye are a poet's, and these permit his final pages to rise to an eloquence and vision of their own. He sees "an empire in the final stage of its dissolution," still struggling to free itself of outworn castes and the bane of armies; "decades of upheaval," "military rule," "mob rule," "endless violence, relieved only by periods of sheer exhaustion"; a church still waiting to "emerge from its reactionary obscurity and show some really progressive leadership"; and behind it all "a land of opposites"—"snow mountains towering sheer up out of jungle and tropical plain," "glaciers overhanging banana plantations," "condors circling over cows," "airline passengers looking down on pack trains of llamas," violence in apathy, humor in despair, fanaticism in fatalism—yet all pregnant of "a new race and a new culture," "perhaps an entirely different kind of sensibility, an original approach to life," beyond "all the bad times that are coming."

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Goethe and Dr. Reik

FRAGMENT OF A GREAT CONFESSION. A Psychoanalytical Autobiography. By Theodor Reik. Farrar, Straus and Company. $6.

DR. REIK'S newest volume is a joint psychoanalytical study of Goethe and himself: the conjunction is perhaps embarrassing to the American reader, but Dr. Reik has of course precedent for it among Goethe's countrymen—we recall Gerhart Hauptmann, for instance, or Thomas Mann in his autobiographical sketch. The first section of the book, almost two hundred pages, is a reprint of a paper Dr. Reik wrote some twenty years ago on Goethe's unconscious reasons for leaving Friederike Brion. The second, even longer, section is autobiography, a research into Dr. Reik's motives for handling the Goethe study as he did. The analyst turns his psychoanalytical guns back upon himself and discovers some striking parallels between Goethe's youthful relations with women and his own.

The author of "Fragment of a Great Confession" tells us of the special notice that his gifts of analytical detection won from Freud, and although we may wonder why Dr. Reik who in previous work was at considerable pains to discredit Freud should now be so eager to prove that the founder of psychoanalysis admired and respected him and was his friend, we are glad to acknowledge that the praise was justly given: Dr. Reik's Goethe paper truly reads like a detective story. Dr. Reik believes, and the evidence he adduces is compelling, that until he was well on in years Goethe was psychically impotent, that he ran away from the girl he describes so charmingly in "Dichtung und Wahrheit" not because she was his social inferior or because he was protecting a vision of his high literary destiny but because, for a complex of unconscious reasons, he was afraid to consummate his relation with her. To the support of this theory Dr. Reik brings a weighty Goethe scholarship and an imposing artillery of depth psychology: behind Goethe's sexual impotence—so his case goes—lay a fear of castration, behind the castration fear lay a fear of his own aggressions, behind the fear of his aggressions lay a magical estimate of the power of thought. We have the impression that the detective perhaps tracks his psychological quarry a bit relentlessly, or overjoyously; but the hunt is a fascinating one.

Much less interesting is the second section of the book, where instead of the intent sleuthing of the Goethe investigation we have a free play of Dr. Reik's personality and intellect. In so far as Dr. Reik is concerned to demonstrate that the analyst will see, in his patient or literary subject, what he has personal reason to look for, his self-analysis has a certain usefulness. For the rest, it is autobiography so disquietingly lacking in dignity that, retrospectively, even the Goethe study loses some of its authority.

Barely touching upon the childhood derivations of his symptoms—for he evidently believes that the unconscious is a product of the developed intellect—Dr. Reik focuses his research into his past chiefly upon his young manhood. He is both honest and knowing about some of the difficulties which beset him in his younger years—sexual inhibitions, ambivalences of feeling toward those closest to him, strange conversions of psychical into physical pain—and undoubtedly many readers will find components of their own problems in his. But although Dr. Reik brings to his self-investigation technical knowledge of a kind to which few autobiographers can lay claim, such is his poor notion of life that he has less to say about our common pain and disorder than many autobiographers who entirely lack his trained insight. It is clearly wrong of us to make, as we so inevitably seem to, a higher moral demand upon the physician of the mind than we do upon other human beings; but even if we check ourselves from judging Dr. Reik in the too white light of his profession and measure him only as we would any other writer, without reference to the superior emotional balance we like to assume in a psychoanalyst, we must be shocked by his petty animosities, his protestations of prestige, his apparent inability to come to simple working terms with either himself or his colleagues. Dr. Reik's idea of a freely associating self-analysis was a nice one; it is unfortunate, therefore, that his free associations read more like a catalogue of grievances and self-justifications than like a configuration of self-knowledge.

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Center of the Struggle

THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY. By Drew Middleton. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

MR. MIDDLETON'S book is a desperate last-minute effort to make the American public realize that "Germany is the center of the struggle for Europe," that the fate of the world may hinge on whether the future Germany "faces east or west," and that western orientation will be meaningful only when Germany is democratic. In a fascist or neo-fascist Germany the popular masses would be vulnerable to Communist propaganda while the ruling caste would tend to come to terms with the Russian-dominated Eastern European bloc: "A fascist Germany is a false reinforcement to the democratic powers." In the interests of the United States and a democratic world, Mr. Middleton insists, the utmost must be done to help democratic forces win out in Germany, and to insure that a democratic Germany may live. His is a spirited, vigorous plea for a cause he considers not lost but badly damaged, and which to him is not a cause of "the Germans" but the cause of the survival of democracy in a world threatened by Soviet totalitarianism.

Mr. Middleton, who was the first post-war correspondent in Germany for the New York *Times*, from May, 1945, to March, 1946, resumed his German post in April, 1948; in the interval he served as a correspondent in the Soviet Union; he also covered the crucial 1947 meetings on Germany of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow and London and the council's futile 1949 reunion in Paris. He was close to the places where history was in the making, and has written a painstakingly impartial report retracing the successive stages in the "struggle for Germany" between the East and the West; what has happened since the collapse of Nazism on Germany's domestic scene is viewed from this angle. Mr. Middleton has brought out the impact of the international situation on American Military Government policy and its implementation, and although he is highly critical of United States military and civilian administrators, he has clearly demonstrated how much their actions were determined by Soviet aggression and French connivance. He deplores the initial concessions made to the Soviet Union, and likewise deplores the fact that United States policy, under French pressure, desisted from pursuing the aim of Germany's unification at a time when unification might have insured a broadening of post-war Germany's democratic foundations and checked the totalitarian drive. This point, which implies lack of initiative and foresight on the part of the policy-makers in Washington, is worth discussing; one may wonder, though, how much democracy would have been possible in a unified Germany under quadripartite rule, and whether it then would not have taken much longer to reverse the original policy of politely giving way to the great Soviet ally, and to curb the influence of pro-Communist tendencies among civil-administration and information-services personnel of both the American and the French Military Government.

Mr. Middleton is to be commended for pointing out how the abrupt intensification of the "struggle for Germany" in early 1947 shifted the emphasis of American occupation policy toward the reconstruction of heavy industry and increased the tendency of the Military Government to lean heavily on the German industrialists, bureaucrats, and conservative politicians. Stressing the dangers of this tendency, Mr. Middleton does not neglect to underscore the inadequacy of Germany's economic recovery after the western currency reform in 1948, the extent of war damage in Germany's population structure, the physical and psychological havoc wrought by five years of bombings, and the resulting frailty of a dynamic mass effort to build new social and political structures. His conclusions are inescapable: German democratic structures will not be buttressed unless substantial improvements take place in the living conditions of the masses, since the precariousness of the economic recovery and the imperative necessity to export in order to live may make western Germany susceptible to future Soviet overtures while at the same time magnifying nationalist resentment and pro-fascist trends. Hence, only a genuinely democratic western Germany, based on labor support and able to lift the living standards of the masses, will prove impervious to Soviet infiltration and con-

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stitute a barrier protecting Western Europe from Soviet intrusion.

All this is plausible and well presented, in spite of minor factual inaccuracies and errors. Yet Mr. Middleton would have had a stronger case had he drawn a more rounded picture of western Germany's internal condition. His very insistence on the importance, for future international developments, of Germany's socio-economic pattern would call, in spite of technical obstacles, which are many, for a less cursory presentation of economic data, a more elaborate analysis of the entirely new demographic situation, and an examination of the social significance of changes in technology, the relationship between industry and agriculture, employment and unemployment, and so on. Mr. Middleton is right when he points out that a democratic Germany will have no economic future without European planning. But planning for Europe will depend on a high degree of planning in every European country, and particularly in highly industrialized, overpopulated, and food-deficient western Germany. Can democratic safeguards to counterbalance planning and bureaucratic controls be established on a broad and shockproof social basis? More generally, how strong are the elements of a democratic future?

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Mr. Middleton does not presume to know the ultimate answer. He emphatically warns Americans against "the mistake of attacking every new manifestation of patriotism as a Nazi revival." He says, "It would be the height of folly to assail every German who wants to see his country prosperous and united as a neo-Nazi or a tool of the Communists." But he also points to "reasons for disquiet over western Germany's political orientation." He views with anxiety what he terms "the survival of authoritarian tendencies among the Germans," "the abiding German belief that men are divided between the rulers and the ruled," "the essential idea that in each town and each state the educated experts and the well-to-do will make the rules." It is doubtful whether the really "alarming" facts can be spotted in a wholesale indictment.

While Mr. Middleton on the whole has happily avoided generalizations on similarly vague subjects, such as "the Germans," "the German character," and "German opinion," his treatment of "authoritarian" trends lacks the validity of factual analysis. In the absence of full-grown institutionalized media of expression, verifiable statements on opinions and attitudes prevailing in Germany would be difficult to make even if public-opinion research had been carried out on a large scale, which it has not. And yet Mr. Middleton bases his misgivings—justifiable on other grounds—solely on the false premise that "democracy to the bulk of the Germans is a new and complicated procedure," and on casual conversations with German politicians and intellectuals, which he considers corroborated by the results of occasional opinion polls taken by Military Government agencies. These polls are faulty: sampling, questionnaire schedules, interviewing techniques, and methods of statistical evaluation are inadequate, as Military Government's "pollsters" know full well. After the great American pollsters' débâcle in last year's Presidential election, one is surprised that Mr. Middleton should not have displayed greater caution with respect to the groping experiments of their Military Government disciples. To draw conclusions as to the prevalence or increase of authoritarian tendencies in the mental make-up of the German public from such experimental surveys is an unwarranted procedure conducive to arbitrary and misleading judgments.

A closer study of the structure and operation of political parties and labor unions and a minute analysis of election returns would seem more appropriate tools for a foreign correspondent. Using such tools properly, that is, with due attention to historical detail and social psychology, such a seasoned observer as Mr. Middleton has shown himself to be in a number of countries could not have helped realizing that even in Germany there is a substantial difference between the propensity to take orders and the penchant for orderly, often bureaucratized, procedure in public life; that the "tight organization" of German labor groups is not identical with elimination of the democratic process, whereas the "rather loose" structure of non-labor groups frequently indicates the total absence of democratic organization; and that the tendency to "leave the thinking to someone else," a decidedly authoritarian trait which Mr. Middleton rather too harshly ascribes to "the rank and file of the occupation army," is a characteristic of specific social and political groups—in Germany as in any other country—and should not be attributed to the "present political habits" of either "the Germans" in general or the German labor movement, proverbially fond of rationalized deliberation.

Along these and similar lines one may disagree with Mr. Middleton's judgment or find his analysis here and there lacking in range or depth; but his thought-provoking book, outstanding among recent publications on Germany under military rule, certainly deserves the most serious attention.

A. R. L. GURLAND

"Poetry" on the air

RADIO AND POETRY. By Milton Allen Kaplan. Columbia University Press. $4.50.

YOU begin reading this book with, if not a prejudice in its favor, at least what you hope is a reasonably open mind. The author's devotion and industry are appealing, not to mention the notes, the appendix, and the index. You have always contended that poetry should sound like something; that it

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should be heard, even more than seen. This may be your opportunity: the limitations, conventions, taboos, are nothing but a challenge for the evolution of a new art form. After all, was Aeschylus bothered by the fact that he was not allowed to present a murder on the stage, that he was strictly bound by the three unities?

You find yourself, as you read the first few pages, intrigued by the idea of composing a verse drama with the scene set in a cave, or on a night so black that none of the characters can see each other. How does one go about composing for the blind?

As you go along, you find, for your guidance, a good many quotations. You find it a little hard to swallow the corn of Rosten and MacLeish, Kreymborg and Corwin, your preference being for the clear liquid-amber variety. You choke, if not gag, at all the hortatory rhetoric addressed to the "little people" and the "common man"; what kind of propaganda is this, for God's sake? Don't the fools know we all like to think of ourselves as big and uncommon? You persevere. You come across references to the poetry-reading programs of Ross and Malone, programs which you remember tuning in over the protests of the rest of your household, who preferred the Lone Ranger. You were ruthless at first, then rueful, for however terrible the Lone Ranger might have been, candor compelled you to acknowledge that there was certainly room for argument.

You get to page 148, and find a sentence attributed to a citizen by the name of Irve Tunick. "Once you think you're an artist," the refreshing Mr. Tunick declares, "you're through." So you're through, you might as well be good and through: you close the book, and turn on the radio. It is too late for the old redhead and the Dodgers, or for Cappy and today's races from Belmont, so you hit on a quiz program. Which goes about like this:

Our studio contestant. May I have your name, please?

Clara Vere de Vere.

Well: very happy to have you with us—is it Miss, or Mrs., Vere de Vere?

Mrs.

That's fine, Mrs. Vere de Vere; And where are you from, Mrs. Vere de Vere?

Canarsie Avenue, Brooklyn. (Terrific cheering from the audience, or the sound-effects machine.)

Well, that's *fine*, Mrs. Vere de Vere. And what do you do in Brooklyn, Mrs. Vere de Vere?

I'b a hobe-baker.

Well, that's fine, a home-maker. And NOW, Mrs. Vere de Vere, are you ready to answer our billion-dollar question? Remember, if you get this right, you get a billion dollars in cash, and all the prizes on our terrific jackpot, including seven free trips around the world, and a key to the government vaults at Fort Knox, Kentucky. Are you ready for the question, Mrs. Vere de Vere?

(The contestant giggles.)

All right, here it is. Now, think carefully. What color is the American flag? (Silence.)

What color is the American flag? Mrs. Vere de Vere?

Would you repeat the question, please?

What color is the American flag? No

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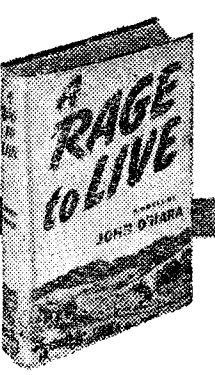

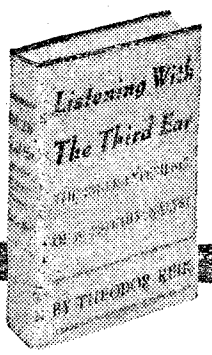

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coaching from the audience, PLEASE! Green?

Oh, I'm sorry, Mrs. Vere de Vere. But you made a very good try, so we're going to give YEW a million dollars in cash, a BEWTIFUL ski-jumping ONSOMBUL, and 6100 pleasure chests of mellow Old Mould Cigarettes. Thank you for being with us, you've been a VERY good sport. Good Night to you, Mrs. Clara Vere de Vere, of Brooklyn.

You give up. To hell with writing for those morons. This attitude, you realize, makes you a snob, a cultist, an Ivory Tower denizen, a practitioner of solitary vice, a secret drinker, a writer for a limited clique, or coterie, of other obscure poets, and probably a Fascist. You contemplate the gloomy end of an unsavory career, and the ultimate prospect of becoming the subject of a denunciation by Robert Hillyer.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Roots of Liberalism

LIBERALISM AND THE CHALLENGE OF FASCISM. Social Forces in England and France, 1815 to 1870. By J. Salwyn Schapiro. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $5.

FEW words offer greater semantic difficulties today than "liberal" and "liberalism." Politicians of the most diverse views, ranging from neo-Malthusian to near-Marxist, claim to be liberals, and such controversial ideas as that of the welfare state are both passionately upheld and hotly assailed in the name of liberalism.

Nothing could be more timely, therefore, than a book by one of our leading historians of political ideas which examines the origins and rise of liberalism in Britain and France. And it is doubly welcome in that its author combines meticulous scholarship with an ability to write clear, firm prose. It is not hard to understand why, until his recent retirement, Professor Schapiro's courses in European history at the City College of New York attracted succeeding generations of students.

The essence of liberalism, as this book reminds us, was a passion for liberty, a passion which some of its early advocates, reacting violently against a despotic state, pursued almost to the point of anarchy. It was an optimistic faith, exalting the power of reason, assuming the perfectibility of man and, therefore, the certainty of progress. "To liberalism," as Professor Schapiro puts it, "time was the universal friend which would inevitably bring greater happiness to ever greater numbers."

Since the liberal believed both in progress and reason he was naturally skeptical about accepted dogmas and given to challenging established institutions. In no other period of history perhaps has intellectual iconoclasm flourished more vigorously than in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the upshot was a tremendous release of mental energy and advance in knowledge.

One of the great inventions of the period was the constitutional opposition. "It would not be wrong," writes Professor Schapiro, "to define political liberalism as the science and art of peacefully choosing an alternative government." Pragmatic Britain was more successful than logical France in meeting this problem, perhaps because its solution called for art rather than science. However, there are other good reasons for the different development of the liberal state in the two countries. In Britain it came into being in a series of relatively orderly stages, with Parliament remaining the supreme organ of government while changing from an oligarchic to a democratic body.

In France there was no such continuity. The dam of despotism held until it was burst by a revolutionary flood. Terrorism and civil war split the nation into two irreconcilable factions, one appealing to the revolutionary tradition, the other harking back to the monarchy and the empire. "Neither side was ever strong enough to crush the other. Whenever one of the two Frances was out of power, it conspired to overthrow the government by violent methods. Whenever it was in power, it used the machinery of government to eliminate all influences of the other France." Consequently there was long delay in establishing a parliamentary democracy that could function efficiently.

Professor Schapiro is a stout adherent of liberalism but no blind admirer of all the ideas to which it gave birth. In an excellent chapter, The Economists and the Apotheosis of the Bourgeoisie, he writes: "Nothing else is so persuasive, so insinuating as self-interest infolded in a noble ideal; the drive of the former becomes the high purpose of the latter." Liberal economics rationalized the interests of the newly risen capitalist class in an effort to establish sanctity of property and unrestricted freedom of enterprise as laws of nature.

Such ideas were bound to clash with liberal political theories that pointed toward universal suffrage. Fearing with reason that a propertyless proletariat endowed with votes would use the state as an instrument to promote economic equality, the middle class, after it had gained political freedom for itself, resisted the further advance of democracy. But the power of the political ideal proved greater than that of the economic theory.

Even while the workers of Britain and France were still struggling to win full citizenship, the reaction against democracy, which has found such violent expression in our own day, began to take shape. The most original chapters of this book provide studies of three nineteenth-century "heralds of fascism"—the Emperor Napoleon III, Proudhon, revolutionary champion of the petit bourgeois, and Thomas Carlyle, prophet of the cult of the Hero. All three, the author shows, voiced ideas that later were to become weapons in the hands of Hitler and Mussolini. Proudhon and Carlyle, in particular, drew blue-prints of a corporate state and breathed the same bitter *mélange* of social, racial, and political hatreds that is basic to fascist ideology. They were anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and anti-capitalist.

The nineteenth-century climate of opinion was unfavorable to such ideas. Carlyle was a popular author, but few

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disciples followed him. Ironically, his greatest influence in Britain was on the class-conscious workers who used his attacks on capitalist ethics to support the case for socialism while discarding his idealization of dictators. The task of reconciling Carlyle and Marx has only been achieved by the latter-day Communists, who have found an all-wise, all-powerful hero indispensable to proletarian salvation.

Significantly, after World War II both the British and the French peoples deposed their heroes—Churchill and De Gaulle. This striking demonstration of the democratic belief that no one man or set of men is indispensable provides the best possible support for Professor Schapiro's conviction that the roots of liberalism in the Western world are deeper than some faint-hearts realize.

KEITH HUTCHISON

A Free Enterprise

LYDIA PINKHAM IS HER NAME. By Jean Burton. Farrar, Straus and Company. $2.75.

CAPTIVE counselors in public affairs for United States Steel, professors in schools of business administration, and Fulton Lewis, Jr., are all vociferous in their glorification of "free enterprise" but vague when it comes to specifications. In Miss Burton's lively book they will find the outstanding, blown-in-the-bottle example of what "free enterprise" really is. It is Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound. It is so free that it is not even patented. Anyone can go and cook up in his or her "spotless kitchen" the various herbs, among them, False Unicorn Root, mixed at the start with a hefty 18 per cent of alcohol, and go out and sell them, under another name, of course, on the market place. What do you say? You put up the "venture capital," we'll get Dali to do a picture of a False Unicorn for the label, and I'll be treasurer.

To be sure, the discoverer of the Compound, who was born Lydia Estes in a farmhouse outside of Lynn, Massachusetts, did not exactly conform to the standards of a typical entrepreneur. She came from a Quaker family for whom even the mild disciplines of the Friends proved too onerous, so that when Lydia was growing up into a young woman whose beauty is amply attested by the frontispiece of Miss Burton's book, the family had become free-thinkers, Abolitionists, labor sympathizers, and suffragists, at whose home Frederick Douglass, the great Negro orator, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and other reformers and radicals of the Middle Years were welcome guests.

When she was one of America's first successful business women, Lydia did not forget her early radicalism. For years she wrote her own advertising copy, and, boy, did it pull! She would take such a subject as the exploitation of women workers in the factories and sweatshops, and end, of course, with the suggestion that the Compound might help tired backs. Thus she would write: "The man of business yields nothing to the interest of humanity, but smiles complacently and *murders while he smiles.*" She went after the claims of the medical trust to omniscience with angry hoots. Yet the most reactionary newspapers published her ad as ordered —top of column, next to reading matter, with the famous cut of the Founder in her old age, smiling benignly out upon a world of complaining females. That smile was better known and more respected in the newspaper offices of the world than Mona Lisa's. Checks from the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, which Miss Burton reckons spent more than forty million dollars through the years in newspaper advertising, didn't bounce. So if the old lady wanted to picture business men as murderers, what advertising manager would say her nay?

The enterprise began on a dark day when the Micawber-like Isaac Pinkham, who had been speculating in Lynn real estate, found himself wiped out by the panic of 1873. At a family conference Daniel Pinkham, the second of three sons, suggested that the medicine made by the altruistic Mrs. Pinkham in her kitchen and given away to her friends and neighbors be bottled and sold to druggists. The go-getting Dan took on the New York and Brooklyn territory, and few Horatio Alger, Jr., heroes could parallel the pluck with which Dan did his pioneering job, with the family backing him to their last penny.

By 1881, when Dan, who had taken a flier in radical politics, in addition to his strenuous activities in "pushing out" pamphlets, "selling" druggists through personal visits, and supervising the details of the newspaper advertising, had literally worked himself to death by tuberculosis at the age of thirty-two, the business was established and booming. Changes in the family form of organization followed. Mrs. Pinkham wrote the first widely circulated book on the facts of life, and after her death in 1883 the business, headed by her son Charles Pinkham, continued its phenomenal growth.

Was this success founded on a bottled fraud, with lavish advertising to push it, as the medical professional repeatedly claimed? Not at all. According to Miss Burton, thoroughly competent research conducted fifty years after Mrs. Pinkham's death showed that the Compound was really useful in at least two instances—menstrual difficulties and the menopause. "The general reaction to this was intense surprise," writes the author. "Mrs. Pinkham would have experienced no such emotion, though she might have felt serenely gratified to learn that science had at length caught up with her."

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The Dollar Shortage

MONEY IN A MAELSTROM. By J. W. Beyen. The Macmillan Company. $3.25.

IF anyone in the world can understand the dollar shortage, Mr. Beyen ought to be able to do so. He has been manager of two important banks in the Netherlands, a representative of his country on the Standstill Committee for German debts ever since 1931, a member of the Netherlands delegation to the World Monetary and Economic Conference of 1933, president of the Bank for International Settlements from 1937 to 1940, and financial adviser to the Netherlands government in London during the war. Now he is an executive director of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Mr. Beyen has seen the rise and fall of the gold standard and the development of exchange control, bilateral trade agreements, blocked currencies, and all the other paraphernalia of monetary and trade management. He has been near the focus of international finance and central-banking practices for three decades. His reminiscences illuminate, from this eminence, the tortured economic history of two post-war periods and the intervening world depression. There are few who could not learn something from his intimate account, provided they have sufficient grounding in the subject to know what he is talking about, since this is neither a handbook for the beginner nor a thorough treatise, but a short commentary.

Out of his experience he has learned many things that others need to know, and he states them with both assurance and moderation. Specially pertinent at this moment is his judgment:

> There is no more profound misunderstanding of the actual situation than to believe that the staggering amounts needed under the Marshall Plan were caused by laziness or discouragement of the peoples to whom Marshall Plan help is extended. Had they been lazy or discouraged their needs would be considerably smaller. . . . The fact that after all that was given to them as lend-lease, UNRRA help, and government loans, they needed a new and larger blood transfusion is due to a great extent to the fact that they started to work without quite realizing how weak they still were.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

UP TO now I have seen only one program of the Sadler's Wells Ballet: Ninette de Valois's "The Rake's Progress," Frederick Ashton's "Symphonic Variations" and "Facade," and Robert Helpmann's "Hamlet." The first piece tells its story in terms which have no interest as dance movements; the last is a lurid, tasteless mimed hash of elements of Shakespeare's play; the Ashton pieces are works of a very distinguished art. "Symphonic Variations" is an abstract setting of Franck's music such as we have had from Balanchine; and though its classic ballet movements aren't as astoundingly complex and original as Balanchine's, they have a freshness and sweetness which are in part the qualities of Ashton's imagination and in part the style of the dancers they are contrived for. The assured technique which a Russian or American ballerina would use for outgoing brilliance Margot Fonteyn uses for an exquisite quiet elegance in which she is followed by the other dancers; and Brian Shaw's display of virtuosity is not the less impressive for being done with good manners. All this, with a remarkably beautiful and effective abstract decor by Sophie Fedorovich, adds up to a quietly lovely piece. And "Facade" gives us a progression of Ashton's wit and fun—very quiet at first in the deft movements of the Scotch number, but getting broader in the succeeding episodes, and reaching a side-splitting climax in the Tango danced by Ashton himself with Moira Shearer.

At City Center I have heard the New York City Opera Company's "Tales of Hoffmann," which I missed last year, and its new "Rosenkavalier"—both of them very good, and amazingly so when one considers the company's resources for the works' requirements. In "Hoffmann," to which Morel's conducting contributed an over-all excellence, the outstanding member of a fine cast which included Suzy Morris, Frances Yeend, Virginia MacWatters, and Walter Cassel was Carlton Gauld, whose Lindorf, Coppelius, and Miracle (why not also Dapertutto?) displayed the gifts of voice, presence, and projection that had made his Golaud in "Pelléas" so remarkable. As for the young tenor Robert Rounseville, he is an impressive singing actor, though with a voice which is less agreeable loud than soft, and with a face, a cut of hair, a way of standing and moving, to which nothing was done to keep him from looking like a boy from Attleboro, Mass., who didn't quite fit into the picture.

In "Der Rosenkavalier"—an absurdly overrated work, let me say again in passing—another fine cast included Frances Bible and Virginia Haskins as the young lovers and Lorenzo Alvary as Ochs; but in the performance I attended Maria Reining could not sing the Marschallin and was replaced by Irene Jessner, who did not look the part or act it convincingly, and whose loud high notes were strident and soft low ones drowned by the orchestra as it was conducted by Joseph Rosenstock.

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Leopold Sachse's staging of the work was very effective; but H. A. Condell's scenery had its normal quota of questionable features. In the first act one saw a realistic version of a room in an eighteenth-century Viennese palace; but in the second one got a cold, bare stylized interior with nothing to suggest the place and time, and with the backdrop showing the street through the window at which Marianne stood—a street which one saw was vast and deserted and most like a scene in a de Chirico painting, while Marianne described it as filled with the activity of Octavian's arrival.

And finally Elena Nikolaidi's Town Hall recital. Just to hear, at first, such magnificent contralto tones—steady, clear, powerful, manipulated and spun out with complete security into beautifully shaped musical phrases—was an exciting experience. But later, in dramatic music like Eglantine's aria from "Euryanthe" and Mahler's "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen," those tones were produced and manipulated with a fire and intensity which made the performances something to cherish among one's recollections of the wonders achieved by human powers.

CONTRIBUTORS

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is professor of English at the University of Chicago. He spent the years 1944-46 in Brazil, Argentina, and six other countries of South America on a cultural mission for the Department of State.

DIANA TRILLING, for several years a regular contributor to *The Nation*, edited the Viking "Portable D. H. Lawrence."

A. R. L. GURLAND lived in Germany in the pre-Hitler years and has spent much time there since the end of the war. He recently completed for the E. C. A. a study of post-war population trends and labor-union developments in western Germany.

KEITH HUTCHISON is financial editor of *The Nation*. He is the author of "Rival Partners: America and Britain in the Post-War World."

GEORGE SOULE, who is on the staff of Bennington College, is the author of "Introduction to Economic Science."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Nürnberg Forgotten

Dear Sirs: The film "Nuremberg—Its Lesson for Today" is a full-blown documentation of the misdeeds, the trial, and the conviction of the most reprehensible members of the human race ever known. This motion picture was put together, for the most part, by Pare Lorentz, whose previous productions have been milestones in the history of the documentary film. Mr. Lorentz started the job three years ago and it was completed in 1947 by two of his assistants.

The United States army, which sponsored the film and hired Mr. Lorentz to edit it, has allowed "Nuremberg" to be shown publicly in Germany—where it has received wide acclaim—but has refused to release the picture for general distribution in this country. To me, this can only mean that the Military Government wants to tell the Germans one story, ourselves another.

Representative Emanuel Celler of New York has filed a protest on this procedure with Tracy S. Voorhees, Under Secretary of the Army. I suggest that your readers write to Mr. Voorhees and inform him that there's a ready audience for "Nuremberg" on this side of the Atlantic. JULES SCHWERIN

Cannes—Slow Death?

Dear Sirs: The absurd ratio of an allowance of twelve films for the United States to four for other countries will undoubtedly be changed before another film festival takes place here at Cannes. This ratio was the reason given by Russia, followed by all its neighbors except Poland, for refusing to come. The quota goes like this: countries producing over 200 films, 12; countries producing 50 to 200, 4; others, 1.

It will be interesting to see what Russia does if this quota is changed. Since a Russian film crisis is openly discussed in Soviet papers, it is likely that it will be as difficult for the U. S. S. R. as it obviously has been for others to find enough decent films to show at this and other international film festivals.

Nobody, it appears, will care if the United States quota is cut, least of all Van Dee, the representative here of the Motion Picture Association of America, who declared that the festivals were more of a chore than a pleasure for American film producers. He added they would gladly send only two films, or none at all. This year the United States quota was far from filled. There were only six full-size American pictures shown here, two of them from independent producers—a circumstance that particularly annoys the French, who say that the M. P. A. A. demanded ten places for its ten producers and that they, the French, added two more to give American independents a chance. Both the French and the British say they would have had more films to show had their quotas been bigger. The British point to the fact that their excellent "Passage to Pimlico" had to be shown out of competition because of the quota. The French are not given to concrete examples.

It remains to be seen whether the M. P. A. A. will really be glad to have its quota reduced. If it will—say, to six films—a few independent producers might suddenly get enthusiastic about festivals and crowd out the M. P. A. A., or, more likely, find themselves crowded out. This is the last thing anyone here wants. Everybody is unhappy because the United States exhibits are all big-time commercial stuff. As one local commentator pointed out, "These presentations are far from expressing the real American production, which includes films that very probably never get out of the little exclusive theaters lost in the existentialist Latin quarter of New York."

If there are films more worthy of festival presentation, somebody should find out why they don't get here. Emil Lustig brought "Lost Boundaries," independently produced by Louis de Rochemont, under his arm from Paris to Cannes after friends advised him to do so. He said that so far as he knew there was no reason why an independent producer who thought it worth while could not bring a film to the festival. He was not happy that the M. P. A. A. put up an exhibit entitled "U. S. A. Presents" and advertised none but M. P. A. A. films, but he added that there had cer-

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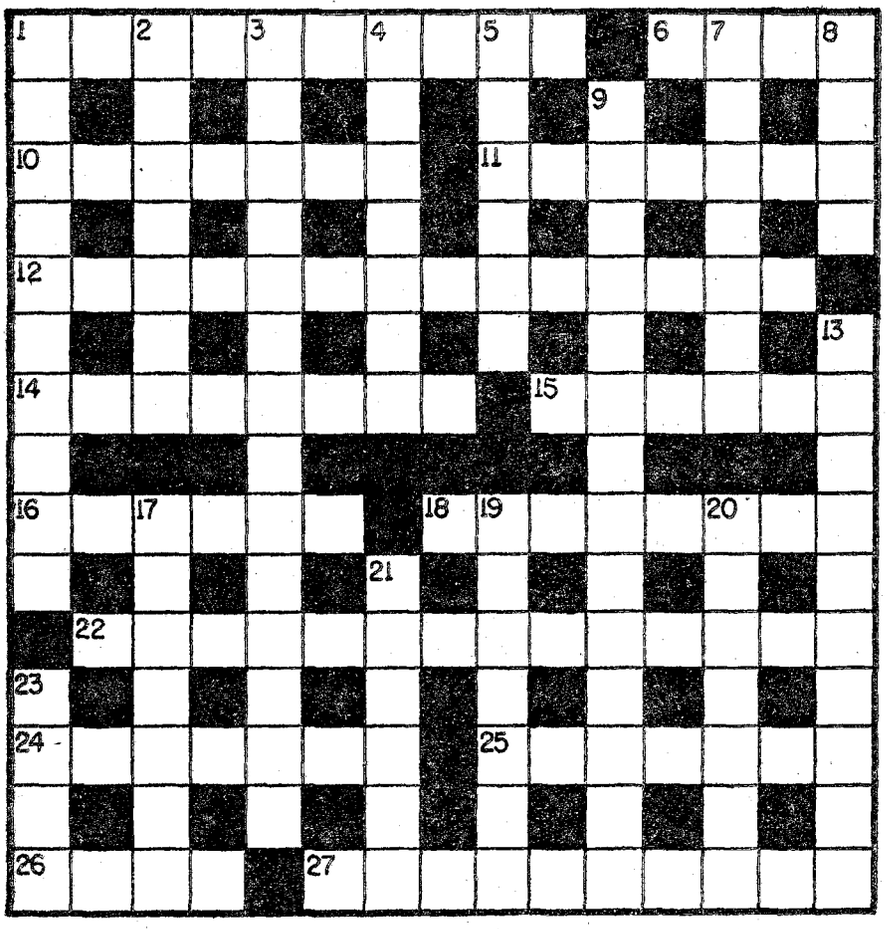
Crossword Puzzle No. 334

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Romances at the capital. (10)
6 See 3.
10 Weapon-carrier. (7)
11 A new dealing form is straightened up. (7)
12 A Chinese problem is not for me! (14)
14 and 23 One is cut, the other trimmed. (5, 3, 4)
15 The start of an infamous death-march. (6)
16 Little pouters, perhaps. (6)
18 Is stated to be an expression of disgust. (8)
22 Aniline, for example, or a talc. (4-3, 7)
24 Living for a long time? (7)
25 First we must get adjusted more rapidly. (7)
26 One of Serge's acquirements. (4)
27 Stalk a progenitor of this, in good season. (6, 4)

DOWN

1 If you find irritation with this, it proves you weren't immune to trouble. (6, 4)
2 A good job Moloch gave it back—the Ceylonese would miss it! (7)
3 and 6 Then is the time to call a strike! (5, 3, 4, 2, 4)
4 Found near the mud or clay. (7)
5 On the track, or trailing things. (6)
7 Extract all I brought up to the front. (7)
8 Skipper Ireson's was sponsored by the women of Marblehead. (4)
9 It seems to have all the requisites of being polite but firm. (5, 9)
13 Bound. (10)
17 It's too good to be true! (7)
19 This seems to lay claim to being old hat! (7)
20 It weaves back and forth. (7)
21 This sort of Hawthorne wood bears tales. (6)
23 See 14.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 333

ACROSS:—1 ESCAPEMENTS; 9 IDEALIST; 10 RAILED; 11 METHODS; 14 PESTLE; 15 LATITUDE; 17 AFFINITY; 20 MORTAR; 22 STAPLES; 24 OCEANIA; 26 ARTIST; 27 AMICABLE; 28 ATTACHMENTS.

DOWN:—2 SPAGHETTI; 3 ARIADNE; 4 EATS; 5 EARNEST; 6 THIEF; 7 ADHERE; 8 FENCED; 13 FLAYS; 16 TERMAGANT; 18 and 12 FUTURE PERFECT; 19 INERTIA; 20 MACHINE; 21 AFIELD; 23 POINT; 25 EACH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

tainly been no M. P. A. A. or government interference. The State Department did make a silly and futile attempt to stop the showing of "Home of the Brave" at the Belgium festival, but took no steps this time against "Lost Boundaries," which also deals with the Negro problem.

Louis de Rochemont, former "March of Time" producer, is not exactly an unknown, however. The case of John Strick, a small independent producer, may be more revealing. He brought an extremely interesting short piece which made the activities of a Los Angeles beach into a fine cinematic composition set to an easygoing commentary accompanied by a guitar. Less than half the jury was present when the film was shown. He is not likely to come again or to encourage his colleagues to come.

Although everybody is dissatisfied with the present quotas, it is obvious that some system of limitation is necessary. Georges Sadoul of the Sorbonne's Institute of Filmology, author of a widely read history of the cinema, drew up the following plan for saving the Cannes festival from slow death: (1) All countries must be placed on the same footing, with each country given the right to choose two of its films for the festival. All others should be chosen by an admissions jury and be limited to works of cinema art. (2) The admissions jury should take the initiative in stirring up interest among experimental producers.

If this plan broke up the cloying succession of documentaries which go to show that things are just fine in Greece, Israel, the Dutch colonies, Indo-China, Ethiopia, and other places, and produced films that have something to do with what is actually going on in the world, it would help. If it brought the Russians and other Eastern countries back in, it would give the Cannes Festival a good deal more right to call itself international. ANN HIGHTOWER

Cannes, September 30

Oops!

[A recent form letter from this office soliciting subscriptions was mailed to thousands of persons on a "circulation list." One copy of the appeal found its way to the home of a director of the Nation Council of Catholic Women and inspired the reply which follows.— EDITORS THE NATION.*]*

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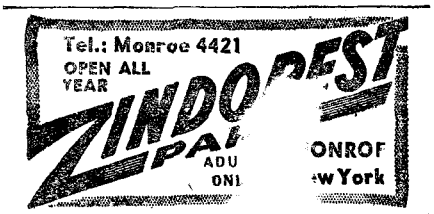

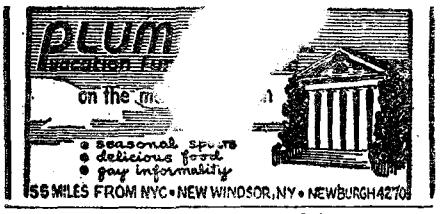

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VIRGINIA W. ROERKOHL

Caledonia, Minn., October 9

Information Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am engaged in a study of the Peekskill riots. I should very much like to communicate with witnesses to these incidents, with a view to having some rather important questions answered. I am particularly interested in receiving information from members of any of the veterans' groups involved in the two clashes.

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James T. Farrell	*James Patton*
Mrs. Dora B. Haines	*Walter P. Reuther*
Gilbert Harrison	*Michael Straight*
Mrs. Leon Henderson	*Jerry Voorhis*
Mrs. Harold Ickes	*William Warne*

■ Preferred shares are available to the public from an offering of 13,355 shares at par value of $10 each. 491 common shares at par value of $100 each are available only to consumer cooperatives. Underwriting discounts or commissions will not be incurred. Estimated distribution cost is $1.55 per share of preferred stock and 18¢ for common stock; aggregate expense of $20,788.63. Net proceeds will be used for the completion and development of WCFM and for operating capital. According to original plans it was anticipated that the station would operate at a loss for the first two years on the air. Total net loss, including depreciation up to August 31, 1949, has been $66,682.05. We are rapidly closing the gap between income and expenditures. Net income for September will exceed $2,500 against cash operating expenses of about $5,000.

These securities are believed to be exempt from registration with the Securities Exchange Commission. Exemption, if available, does not indicate approval or disapproval by the Commission or that the Commission has considered accuracy or completeness of statements included herein.

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